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To the Memory of

Sibley

and

Marshall

Although indulgent friends suggested the publication of these papers, they are not responsible for their appearance.

On reviewing them after the lapse of a quarter century, it seemed to the author that he might be justified in putting them out, because they illustrate a period in the history of the university in which he has spent forty years of his life; and also because they may revive interest in a problem still of great importance, that of the organization of education.

W. W. F.

December, 1909.

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I. INAUGURAL ADDRESS

According to existing custom, the Territory of Minnesota, created March 3, 1849, expected a grant of public lands from Congress for the endowment of a university. That expectation was fulfilled in 1851, and the territorial legislature of that year by an act of incorporation created the University of Minnesota, to be located at or near the falls of St. Anthony. A series of blunders and consequent misfortunes postponed its actual opening till after the close of the war of the slaveholders' rebellion. A preparatory school was organized in October, 1867. Two years later, a small class having been prepared for college work, the regents elected a president and faculty. They began their work in September, 1869, but their formal inauguration was conveniently postponed till the close of the first scholastic term. On December 22, 1869, in the large room in the third story of the west wing of the "old main" building, the simple but impressive ceremonies took place.

The part which any individual plays in to-day's ceremonies is a small thing. These proceedings derive their importance and dignity from the occasion of them. To-day we celebrate the foundation of the University, *its* inauguration, long ago an assured fact with those whose labors, sacrifices, and foresight have made it

sure. It is hope, not memory, which inspires our hearts and dictates our utterances.

We are gathered to-day in no historic audience-chamber; we employ no ancient symbols nor formulae; no effigies upon canvas or in marble look down from these walls to remind us of the great and good of olden time, whose lives and labors have reflected a glory never to fade upon a venerable Alma Mater: but looking forward to the future, amid scenes as yet unused to academic displays, we celebrate and emphasize, with song and praise and benediction,—*beginnings*. Ours is the hopeful toil of the sower, not the consummate fruition of the harvest. We thank God for foundations now laid here which may endure to the end of the world, to the blessing and upbuilding of all the generations which shall follow ours. We may therefore rejoice with exceeding great joy over the opportunities which our children, and our children's children shall here be given, of learning those sciences which furnish and adorn manhood and womanhood, and those arts which enrich and emancipate communities, and make small states great.

How to plan, how to build, how to administer the University so as to meet the just demands of our own and coming times, are the questions which now occupy and oppress us. It would be vain for me to attempt to divert your minds this hour from the occasion of this assemblage and

these public acts. At this initial moment of our enterprise, it is clear that we ought rightly to apprehend its proper aim, scope, and sphere. Proposing to build here an University, we ought to be agreed both as to what we mean by that term, and what we do not mean. Though we build for the future, we plan from the past, towards which let us glance before we attempt definitions.

It has often been charged with much petulance against the older American colleges that they were organized, and have always been operated, in the interest of the Church and the clerical profession. This statement is no doubt true, but it is far from being a just cause of reproach. Ecclesiastics organized and managed with heroic sacrifices the old colleges, because they alone, as a class, appreciated the value of liberal culture and higher education. All honor to the noble men who planted Harvard, and Yale, and Brown, and Columbia, and Princeton, and Oberlin, to the glory of God and the upbuilding of the Church.

But it is to be remarked that these venerable institutions, although founded as training schools for the ministry, did not at the first propose, never have undertaken, and do not now offer to furnish, as colleges, theological education proper. They were, and continue to be, institutions of general and liberal culture in science and literature.

In the course of the forty years which have passed some of these universities have greatly multiplied and expanded their professional and technical courses. All still remain in a sense denominational, but would scorn active proselyting.

The college graduate of colonial times, preparing for clerical functions, passed his apprenticeship in the study and under the tuition of some scholarly parish minister. When a clergyman, apt to teach, assembled two, three, or more candidates under his roof, formed them into a class, and taught them after a certain scheme, a beginning was made which developed into the theological seminary. The economy of the new plan, upon which two or three experts could instruct a number of candidates, over the old one which required as many masters as pupils, was too obvious to escape the notice of a class of thrifty, practical men, accustomed to organize and constitute.

Long after the establishment of the theological seminary, lawyers and physicians continued to acquire their professional educations in the offices of preceptors. I think the physicians were the next in order to discover the feasibility and economy of the professional school. So rapidly were the needed methods and appliances invented and adopted, that not a single generation elapsed between the establishment of the first medical colleges, and the time when they ab-

sorbed all candidates for the medical doctorate.

The law schools came later, for of all professional men the lawyer is the most conservative. "Quieta non movere" is ever his watchword and motto. It is within the recollection of men still young, that the law school has got on to solid footing, and become recognized as the necessary and indispensable pathway to the legal profession.

By this time the secret was fairly abroad. It was in the air, and began to infect all classes. The modest schoolmaster caught it, and began "with 'bated breath and whispering humbleness" to ask for the foundation of schools in which he might acquire the principles and processes of his craft, before beginning the practice of it upon human bodies and immortal souls. Be it said to the credit of our age and country that this request has received a certain though feeble response. The normal school now sends the primary teacher to his work with some knowledge of what is to be done; but the high school teacher, the academy or seminary teacher, and the college professor, still learn their business in the class room. A very accomplished extemporaneous preacher, being asked by what means he acquired his skill, replied, "by ruining half a dozen good congregations." It is painful to think how many good schools are either ruined or

greatly damaged in preparing teachers for their work.

The speaker over-estimated the number of common school teachers, and under-estimated that of grade and high school teachers who had received normal instruction. In 1908 the state superintendent of public instruction reports the whole number of common school teachers in Minnesota as 9022; of whom 2267 have attended normal schools, 936 being graduates. The number of grade and high school teachers is 5906; of whom 2853 have attended normal schools, and 2491 are graduates.

More fortunate than the teacher, are the railway and the mining engineer, the chemist, and the metallurgist, who step at once from our polytechnic schools into honorable and lucrative positions, their science and scientific training being found to more than compensate for any temporary lack of practical dexterity.

But the demand for technical education is no longer confined to those subjects and classes generally spoken of as "professional." The industrial and commercial classes have already raised a cry which can neither be hushed up nor ignored. As a very remarkable indication of this new demand I would point to that great array of so-called "Business or Commercial Colleges," which within the past ten years have flashed upon the country with all the glory of gilt signboards and polychromatic placards. While, as

I think, there is large room for criticism upon the methods and management of these institutions, and although our solid business men are still chary of their countenance and support, it is certain that the educator can no longer ignore these schools; but must recognize them, as signs of the times, at least, clearly foreshadowing a serious, organized demand on the part of the commercial classes for technical education. So extensive and rapid has been the development of our foreign and inland commerce, and so complicated have they become with questions of currency, exchange, and the customs of the trades, that the accounts of great houses are thrown unavoidably into the hands of expert accountants who frequently understand their condition in detail better than the proprietors. It is not strange, then, that the young men ambitious to occupy positions of such respectability and influence, have eagerly grasped at the first means offered, however inadequate, of qualifying themselves in advance for their work. But my present object is answered, if these novel institutions are allowed to be indicative of a serious call for technical education on the part of the commercial classes.

Many public high schools have in the last years opened 'commercial courses'. Some universities have expanded their departments of political economy to embrace studies related to business. A

smaller number have organized 'schools' of accounting, commerce and the like. The proposition that the public schools and universities should 'take over' the work of private commercial schools and colleges is not here considered.

Last of all, a large body moving slowly, but with irresistible momentum, come the industrial classes, the toiling millions who wring from the earth and her products the subsistence of the race,—demanding a schoolmaster. It is true that the cry of these classes for more light was heard long ago in America; but without eloquent tongues and facile pens to multiply and re-echo it, it was lost in the air,—*vox et praeterea nihil.* It might yet be sounding unheeded, had there not come a time when we all saw, by the light of war's devouring flames how the salvation of our nation lay in the keeping of these hard-handed working-men. It was in the supreme hour of the nation's peril, when its very name had been mentioned by a foreign prime minister as out of date, when the ranks of the army, lately filled from the flower and bloom of our farmers and artisans, had been cut down and shortened by bloody campaigns; when the call for volunteers was beating in every village of the land; it was then that the American Congress hastened to bestow upon the industrial classes of the country that magnificent endowment conveyed by the Agricultural College Bill. By the

passage of that act, the demand I am speaking of was recognized and recorded. Since that time no one has held it in supposition, but as one to be met and answered.

Never has a more troublesome problem been thrust upon educators. We know very well how to take young men and train them in schools to be clergymen, physicians, lawyers, engineers, accountants, chemists and miners, but we cannot yet so deftly produce you farmers and blacksmiths and carpenters; spinners, dyers and weavers; millers, moulders and machinists, and so on.

It must be understood that this new demand is an immense and far-spreading one, and one which no single institution, unless it be vastly richer than any yet founded in America, can hope fully to meet. Take Agriculture for illustration. Agriculture is a word of wide comprehension including a great variety of matters which together form a whole, but each of which demands a special treatment. Among farmers we class growers of grains and grasses, planters of textile products, sugar and tobacco, stock growers, dairymen, market gardeners, fruit growers and tree culturists, seed growers and florists. No other profession demands so wide a range of scientific knowledge and practical manual skill as does agriculture. The completely furnished agriculturist must know the chemistry of earth, air, fire and water,

the structure and properties of plants, the natural history of domestic animals, and the principles of breeding and raising them, and the cure of their diseases. He must know the use of many tools, and be able to test them upon mechanical principles. He will need to understand several branches of manufacture. He ought to be lawyer enough to keep out of litigation. He would need to know in particular the law of contracts, of highways and ditches, of tenures and of adverse possession, and he should be no unskillful accountant.

It is not strange then that the schoolmaster has been staggered by the huge load so suddenly thrust upon him.

The problem of agricultural education is one of peculiar difficulty on account of this well known and much lamented fact, that while farmers' sons are rushing by thousands into business, seeking all sorts of agencies, and clerkships, neither farmers' sons nor anybody's sons in large numbers, are seeking thorough *scientific* education in agriculture. I am informed by high authority that out of the 600 young men now attending the Cornell University, not over 30 expect to become practical farmers. I fear this state of things must long continue. So long as there is open to young men the prospect of a name and a home, of a high social position to be won with clean hands and unsoiled garments by

headwork, and without capital, the learned professions, so called, will continue to absorb the best blood of the country. Fondness for mechanical pursuits and indoor work, will turn many others to become artisans, who likewise need but little capital to start upon. It must be confessed that our thoroughly educated young Bachelor of Agriculture, with all his zeal, would be sadly off here without the capital sufficient to buy, subdue and stock his farm. In fact the newly arrived emigrant with his few and simple wants, would have much the advantage of him.

We have not yet in America any such demand for educated agriculturists as exists in Europe; and may the day be far distant when there shall be any such demand. In Europe, rich lords and great proprietors, holding a large share of the soil in immense estates, are very glad to employ professional agriculturists as stewards and overseers. This furnishes opportunity for the graduates of agricultural colleges to practice their profession, without either land or capital of their own. Frequently, also, sons of the great proprietors devoting themselves to the management of the estates they expect to inherit, attend upon the agricultural schools; in which case these gentry are kept in better quarters and on daintier fare than their fellow-students of low birth. The governments of Europe employ a very large

number of experts as foresters, gardeners, and game keepers.

These considerations, while they furnish no reason for doubting the feasibility of agricultural education, do, as I think, constitute a just excuse for its slow development, and they very clearly indicate that the American agricultural college must have a home-grown shape adapted to the demands of the times and to the relations of American rural economy.

Although the development of the American agricultural college has been slow, yet excellent beginnings have at length been made. The experiments made in Massachusetts, Illinois, and particularly in Michigan, suggest several lines upon which it may take place. The early attempts at forming agricultural schools in the State of New York and elsewhere have shown also by what courses it cannot take place. These latter experiments prove that we must furnish better material for such schools than the sons of the wealthy, living in cities, sent from home to remove them from temptation and idleness. Such things I am aware would not be said by one who desired merely to glorify this subject. They who honestly and heartily wish success to the agricultural college will prefer to meet all difficulties at the outset. Let none, however, doubt the feasibility of the industrial education, and its final and abundant success.

A reason for so much elaboration on agricultural education at the time is found in the following state of facts. The original charter of the University of 1851 provided for a college of agriculture. Nevertheless, the legislature of 1858 chartered a separate State agricultural college, and located it at Glencoe, in McLeod County, on land donated by private owners. By a later act all the swamp lands in that county were bestowed on the corporation. The legislature of 1865 also appropriated to it the income to be derived from the grant of 120,000 acres of public lands accruing to the State from the operation of the so-called, "Morrill Bill" of 1862, to promote the education of the industrial classes. Why no beginnings were made at Glencoe, and why those in control of the endowments were or became willing to give up their enterprise is not well-known. They made no opposition to the action of the legislature of 1868 when it merged the agricultural college lands with those granted to the University. The regents of the University were sincerely and anxiously desirous to justify the merger, and demonstrate their good faith in the domain of industrial education. There were those who questioned it.

The speaker made no mistake in counselling patience. Nearly twenty years passed before the University of Minnesota found its place and work in the field of agriculture. Year after year the annual calendars announced elaborate courses in agriculture leading to the bachelor's degree, but there were no aspirants for that degree by way of that course. There was no career for such graduates. In 1884 the president of the university in a public address suggested that instruction in agriculture might be profitably undertaken in secondary schools. Three

years later Professor Edward A. Porter, then at the head of the department on agriculture, struck out a plan of an 'industrial school of agriculture' to be kept on the experimental farm two miles distant from the university campus. Professor D. L. Kiehle, state superintendent of public instruction, a member of the board of regents worked out the pedagogical details and submitted a definite study plan, which was accepted. In October, 1888 the 'School of Agriculture' was opened at St. Anthony Park. Taking boys and girls from their rural homes, with a common school preparation, for the winter months of two years, this 'school' gives a course of science and practice immediately applicable to the Minnesota farm. It has already accomplished a great work. An unexpected and welcome result is that an increasing number of the students are continuing their studies through the 'College of Agriculture' with its four-year course. Two hundred and seventy-one are enrolled in October, 1909.

It may be worthy of remark that the Minnesota legislature, when reorganizing the projected Agricultural College at Glencoe, declared the design of the institution to be "a high seminary of learning, in which graduates of the common schools can commence, pursue and finish a course of thorough theoretical and practical studies * * * in agriculture and kindred industrial pursuits."

My design in drawing this hasty sketch of the rise and progress of professional education, is to have it appear, how alongside and independent of our common schools, our academies and colleges, there has been steadily growing up in this country another sort of educational institu-

tions having a peculiar office, and answering other demands. Receiving young men with such furnishings as the schools or the college may have given them, these new schools undertake merely to fit them for those arts or professions to which they intend to devote their lives. They presuppose the candidates to have been already trained up through childhood and youth to manhood, and to understand sufficiently for their ages the duties and obligations of citizenship, morality and religion. They have no dealings with boys, but instruct young men pursuing voluntarily and therefore zealously, favorite studies.

These schools have in some instances been established upon separate foundations, but more frequently they have been associated more or less closely with the older and richer colleges. The economy of so-associating them was long ago obvious. It was apparent from the first that the same chemist could instruct at once candidates for medicine, mining, manufacture and agriculture; the same professor of intellectual philosophy, logic, and ethics, could lecture to members of many schools at once; the same illustrative apparatus, the same observatory, library, museum would serve for all. A common government could regulate the general concerns and sanction by its authority all public acts.

Such a federation of professional schools one might say would be the University. Most

probably it would be merely the skeleton of the University. Those dry bones must be clothed upon and informed with an animating spirit to present the living, moving body. There must be some common bond to unite the many in one.

I think it is generally admitted and deplored that the standard of professional qualifications is disreputably low. Young men of perhaps a fair common school or academic education are missed from their homes during parts of two or three years, each to return with a diploma of Doctor of Medicine or Bachelor of Laws, and with such hasty and superficial furnishing, offer their services to the public. The schools of technology detain their pupils longer, and certainly train them more thoroughly than do the colleges of medicine and law, but there is probably some just ground for the frequent complaints we hear of "kid glove engineering."

The standard of professional education has been immensely advanced. Respectable law and medical colleges now require three and four year courses for graduation, and a preparation at least equivalent to that required of academic freshmen.

We are not content that the graduates of our professional schools possess merely certain tricks of their trades. It may chance that our ailment, lawsuit, or engineering problem is not just such an one as the books describe, and the teachers

have shown how to heal, manage, or solve. What we demand then, is, not rules, but principles; not mere tricks of art and sleight of hand, but science; science which explains and authenticates art; which makes men masters in their work, and not mere imitators and operatives. There is a strong tendency in these times to specialties, and it will do for men of generous and catholic training, as Michelet says, to "sow the furrow of a strong specialty with the seeds of all the sciences"; but his specialty makes the ignorant theologian a bigot, the ignorant physician a quack, and the ignorant lawyer a pettifogger. We need to put a solider basis of science not only under technical arts and learned professions but under commerce, government, and social relations. We are building our great national fabric according to the rule of thumb. Our best thinkers fail to devise for us a financial policy, by which the people may most safely lift the war debt. We find ourselves mere empirics and journeymen at handling the terrible social problems which the war, the migration of races, and the sudden growth of great cities are thrusting upon us.

The "terrible problems," political, social and financial, are still with us, but happily we have begun to apply the scientific method to their origin, nature and solution.

I think then we have discovered what is that informing spirit which is to give life to the limbs and elements of the University; which can fuse, cement, and compact them into a harmonious organization. It is Science.

Such a federation of schools as I have mentioned, embracing potentially all subjects of human and practical interest; teaching always with reference to principles; occupying ever an attitude of investigation; knowing no favorite studies; at all times thoroughly imbued with the scientific spirit; that is the University.

The distinction between college and university had been almost lost in America. To the ordinary citizen they were one thing. It was therefore thought desirable to emphasize the place and function of the university. It may be questioned whether any one university should aspire to teach all sciences. It may be found feasible to form federations of universities, and organize division of labor among them. Practical astronomy for instance might be assigned to some ones completely equipped.

I speak of science in no narrow, physical, utilitarian sense. The metaphysical sciences will be equally dear to the common Alma Mater. Fond as we Americans are of building, proud as we are of our victories over nature, by land and sea, we still find our dearest action and interest in human nature. "Homo sum"; said Terence, "humani nihil a me alienum puto." We, too, are

men, and indifferent to nothing which pertains to man. The university will teach moral science, the ground and sanction of individual conduct; and social science, which comprises the principles governing men in communities. Teaching the sciences of nature and of human nature she may, (why may she not?) teach also the science of God, so far as our knowledge has become science. Dogmatic theology she cannot meddle with, it being something apart from and additional to science; but the history of religion, like the history of art or literature, may fall within her sphere.

It ought to be possible for a university to teach Deistic science, and "glorify" the true God by exposing the false theologies of many nations, in a manner unobjectionable to ali citizens. In the University of Minnesota lectures have been delivered on the Bible as literature, and instruction given in Hebrew history with the Bible as text-book, without offense.

We might, then, sum up our definition of the university in those words, already classic, of our generous countryman, as an "institution in which any person can find instruction in any study," it being presumed that the distinguished author of the legend intended by the words "any study" to mean *any science*.

Ezra Cornell, founder of Cornell University, at Ithaca, N. Y. The sentence quoted was a bold prop-

osition forty years ago. It appears as the motto of that University.

It is clearly within the scope of the university to teach all the sciences, but it never will be possible for her to teach all the arts. A lady in Philadelphia has been to the pains of making up a catalogue of 633 professions, trades, and crafts, which, in her opinion, women can practice as well as, or better than men. I suppose we may add many more, which men alone or only women can profitably pursue. Now no school can undertake to teach a thousand trades; and if selections are to be made, the weakest, however worthy in themselves, must go to the wall. There is danger, I think, not of over-estimating the importance of schools, but of misconceiving their proper function. Schools furnish us but a very small part of the knowledge we possess, and the value of what knowledge we get from them lies in its being more or less systematic, that is scientific. There never will be a time when schools can instruct economically in any large number of manual operations, whether of the field or the shop. The farmer must learn to drive the plow on the land he tills, the engine driver must mount the foot-board, the sailor must learn the ropes on deck and aloft, the printer must stand up to his case, the book-binder to his bench, the blacksmith must don the leather apron and build his fire on

the forge. All of them will resort to the schools for knowledge of the mother tongue, of the human body and how to use and care for it, of numbers, of nature in her manifold forms, and of the laws of human conduct and social life. I think it greatly to be regretted that we have no good system of apprenticeship in this country. For lack of it we are obliged to import our first class mechanics and artisans. I do not believe any system of schools can ever replace it. The University, then, will do best, if, attending to its proper work, the cultivation and inculcation of science, it do not neglect this for the less worthy and less important task of teaching mere tricks of trade. The result will be the elevation of the trades into professions, the multiplication of inventions, and the diffusion of the most useful knowledge.

While adhering to the opinion that it is not the function of the university to teach trades, the experience of late years requires modification of the statement that schools cannot effectively and economically do that. The examples of the Elmira Reformatory, of the Pratt Institute, and many other institutions have proven that some trades can be taught in schools in a satisfactory way. European experience verifies this abundantly.

It may be necessary for the university to teach certain arts in order to inculcate and illustrate the sciences, but her processes will always

be costly, and from a commercial point of view, extravagant.

I trust that, now, there remains no longer any room for the very common mistake of the university as being merely an overgrown college. It is not numbers which give character to the one or the other. We have seen that as their development has been independent, so likewise are their spheres and objects different. The work of the college is to train up youth and prepare them, not to practice a profession, but to enter upon the study of it.

The university then receives them and instructs them in the principles, and to some extent in the practice of the callings they have chosen. She presumes them to bring such acquirements as fit them to receive her instruction. She offers to teach, within reason, whatever useful science they wish to learn, presuming always that the near approach of manhood and its duties will be sufficient stimulus to diligence, and that the best moral discipline is to be got when the least is said about it. If consistent with her theory, the university will not be charged with the maintenance of students, nor will she interfere in their conduct, further than to forbid and punish whatever acts are injurious to good order, or scandalous to her name. She will always assume that they who resort to her are capable of providing for their wants and of governing their

passions and appetites. If she depart from these rules it will be from temporary necessity.

The college on the other hand is false to its duty and theory if it do not attend to the physical and moral needs of the immature youth whom it undertakes to train up in the way they should go. Removing them from the home and its influences, it is bound to replace the family government and relationship so far as lies in her power. For my part I sincerely deplore the falling off, of late years, in the good government of our collegiate communities. The academic freedom so proper to the mature university student is not the thing for college boys in their teens. Too often is the parental control of the government disarmed or supplanted by the public sentiment of a community of inexperienced and irresponsible youth. This comes of a mingling of the college and university methods, a thing which works mischief, and only mischief.

All university studies being in a manner optional, it is evident that she has no immediate interest in the so-called educational problem of the day: "whether any studies should be pursued for the sake of mental discipline, or whether discipline should be got in following favorite optional studies." The college is much more nearly concerned with this question. It has some interest for us here, who, pending the accumulation of our funds and the full equipment of the

professional departments, are engaged in what is really academic and collegiate work. Let us, therefore, for a moment, attend to it. The matter is much simplified by distinguishing the class of students to whom it rightly relates. We have seen that the university student has no interest in it. Neither have the pupils of the lower schools, engaged as they are in learning those elements which all agree to be indispensable to every age and condition of life. There remain, then, only those youth who, having passed from the common schools, are to be put upon a course of higher education preparatory either to the university or to immediate entrance into business.

Now it is clear that these inexperienced youth are not competent to decide for themselves upon a course of study. If all were optional, and some were hard and others easy, we all know which would be favorite studies. I suppose one reason why the young people have parents and teachers is, that such matters may be decided for them.

A longer experience has shown that young students some times choose the hardest studies. Some such students, however, select one or perhaps two favorite subjects no matter how difficult, and fill up their hours, or points, or credits with branches in which they can obtain passing marks with the least possible time and effort.

The question then stands, not what courses of study shall the youth choose most wisely, but

what ones ought parents and teachers to set out and require them to follow. Very few boys and girls under eighteen are fit to make choice of a life pursuit; and premature choice is injurious to character and fatal to wholesome training. Of all shirks and ne'er-do-weels in college you may put down for the most thorough-paced those young men who were started in jackets to study for some particular calling. They are continually saying of one or another study, "of what use will this be to me when I am a minister, a lawyer or a doctor," neglecting in their short-sightedness those things which wiser men know to be for their best good. Nor can it be right for a parent prematurely and arbitrarily to prescribe the future profession of his child; it will rather be his duty to give him that general training and equipment which may be as useful in one calling as another, leaving him to choose for himself. The instances of remarkable gifts determining in early childhood the calling of the man are too rare to furnish any rule.

If then the teacher is to prescribe a curriculum, we may inquire upon what principles he ought to do it.

We do not educate children for their own sake merely, but for the sake of the family also. Society, too, has an interest in the matter; and so the question is no longer one of expert operatives, clever artists, sharp men of business, eloquent

writers, but whether there shall be good neighbors in the land, and intelligent citizens, honest and capable judges, incorruptible jurymen, wise legislators, prudent executives. Every parent who proposes thoroughly to educate his boy ought to consider himself in a manner the steward and servant of society. "No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself"; which the sage of Concord phrases:

"All are needed by each one
Nothing is fair or good alone."

This being granted, I am prepared to admit that the aim and object of higher education should be in the best sense of the term *"practical."* I would never compel a boy or girl to drudge and agonize over any study as a mere gymnastic. There should ever be held out a worthy reason, a noble and practical motive for all the lessons and exercises of the school. What shall that motive be?

Aristippus (so runs the old Greek anecdote) having been asked what things boys ought to learn, said, "Those things which they will practice when they become men." No later thinker has stated the point more clearly or fairly; but the old Greek has been sadly misunderstood, as if instead of saying men he had said workmen.

The Greek philosopher and his questioner had no thought of the slaves who were the common la-

borers of Attica, nor of the despised aliens who carried on trade. It was the Athenian citizen, warrior and statesman at once, they had in mind.

Then let boys learn those things which they will practice when they become men, and girls the things which they will practice when they grow up to womanhood. And what things will the American boy practice when he grows up to be a man? He will be a farmer or artisan, physician or lawyer, preacher, teacher, or engineer? Yes, some one of these, and let him be no mere striker, bungler nor empiric. But is this all? The American boy growing up to manhood is to be something more than a workman, whether with hands or brains. He will be friend and neighbor, a member of society, of a family, of the church, and will practice the duties of these relations. What is more, he will be a citizen of his town or city, of his state, and of the great Republic. As such he will be called upon to give his vote upon questions of policy worthy the genius of great lawgivers, and which in monarchical countries, would be confined to cabinets and council chambers; as for instance such a one (we cannot enter here upon it), as that of the relations of religion to our common schools, of which a leading journal of the day says, "A tempest is rising which will rock the republic to its very foundations."

The name of the leading journal is not remembered. That tempest has not seriously disturbed the foundations of the republic. There is less rather than more of the species of 'religion' implied in the common schools of to-day. In that time the state universities had not conquered the ground they hold at the present. Most orthodox people believed them to be intruders on a field belonging to the church colleges. Even in later years there were frenzied preachers who denounced the University of Minnesota, as inevitably and hopelessly 'godless' and 'infidel.' One of them has broken out in a national church council in denuncation of the state universities, since these pages went to the printer.

The American boy will not be merely a voter. He should be fit to be voted for, and to take up, at the bidding of his fellow citizens, the duties and responsibilities of public service. It will not do, then, in America, to scrimp and narrow higher education down to the beggarly limits of mere individual demand; nor will it do here in Minnesota, where farmers, lumber dealers, and hardware merchants are framing the statutes of a great university.

The reference was to leading members of the board of regents, in particular to Messrs. John S. Pillsbury, John Nicols and Orlando C. Merriman.

Let the Republic learn a lesson (she has taken many a one) from an old world monarchy. In Prussia and other German states, the govern-

ment, under advice of the highest educational authority, prescribes not merely what studies shall be taught in the high schools, but in what order and amount they shall follow, and in the very number of hours per week that they shall be devoted to each, and finally tests the work by rigorous examinations conducted by persons other than the teachers. And the justification set up by the authorities for such arbitrary and despotic legislation is just this: in order that the youth may not be trained up in any selfish, haphazard, utilitarian way, as if intended to be mere operatives, but that they shall be so instructed in science, language, literature and even religion, as to be fit not merely for private duties, but for the public and social relations of life. If monarchs and aristocrats arbitrarily impose such a scheme upon subjects, what ought not the sovereign people of a free country to demand for themselves?

The sovereign people is more uncertain now than then as to the proper work of their schools. There is no course of studies, no 'curriculum' in any stage of our schooling. We have opened the doors to 'fads' and ranged up parallel columns of differing courses, and given the pupils their choices not only of the courses but also of many alternative studies in the lists. It is time to resist the pressure to multiply subjects in the schools and to confine the public instruction to branches generally necessary to citizens. There should ever be a wide field for private activity in education.

We are ready then for the question: What kind of studies shall we require the youth to pursue in the schools?

The object of education is as the word implies, "to draw out the man." We come into the world not merely destitute of knowledge, but of consciousness also. The child's first lesson is to learn itself and the use of its limbs and organs. It next learns to know other persons, and things; and later it learns what is given us to know of the unseen world.

An education, then, whether in or out of school, has these ends, and these only; to make men to know themselves body and soul, to know nature and human nature, and "to feel after God if haply they may find him, being not far from every one of us."

This statement is quite inadequate because it ignores the fact that man is a doer as well as a knower. Education should prepare for action. The pious quotation was not tagged on to commend the speaker to the orthodox; he was sincerely and actively religious.

We will put into our school curriculums, then, physiology and psychology; science of the body and science of the soul; then numbers, geography, and the grammar of the natural sciences. These studies teach us of ourselves and the visible creation. Those which unfold the nature

of man, and his relations, have been happily called *the humanities,* and are chiefly history, literature, and the key and entrance to them both, language. From history we learn what men have done; from literature what they have thought. We do not cling to the past in order to reproduce it, but because we cannot spare its lessons. We cannot spare its examples of heroism, martyrdom, patriotism, valor, love. Unhappy will that nation be which cuts itself off from the past. As well might a seaman throw overboard his compass and charts, and resolve to steer his ship by chalk marks on her taffrail.

At the time great expectations were voiced of improvements in our pedagogy through a knowledge of the "child's mind." They have not been met. As yet the "old psychology" has contributed little to pedagogy, and the "new psychology" is still on trial.

I have said that language is the key to history and literature. Without this key let no one hope to enter their most sacred and fruitful precincts. But language has claims of its own, being itself a science, and what is more, has been ranked by so great an authority as Max Mueller, of Oxford, a natural science. Regarded as a product of the human spirit, shaped and conditioned by the organs of the human body, language is altogether the most remarkable phenomenon of human existence. The human body, so

"fearfully and wonderfully made," is mere lumber compared with that marvelous mechanism, which conveys from man to man, from nation to nation, and from age to age the inmost workings of the invisible, intangible soul. Men will never cease to be curious about this wonderful instrument, which chiefly marks his rank as the "roof and crown" of creation, which makes society possible, and which unites and distinguishes nations. To handle this instrument deftly, to make it serve its purpose of telling the truth and nothing but the truth, demands more knowledge, skill and practice than any art; more than to wield the pencil of the painter, the engraver's burin, the sculptor's chisel. Languages, then, must ever hold a high place in all educational schemes. And to know and be master of language, a man must study other languages than his own. Goethe most profoundly said: "He that has not learned a foreign language knows nothing of his own." A double reason, then, leads educators to employ the Greek, the Latin, the German, and the French. Each has its literature and history; each its peculiar influence upon the English of the learner.

I must be allowed to praise here, the admirable judgment and liberality of those who laid the foundations of this institution, in making generous provisions for teaching languages,

the ancient, the modern, and last but not least, our own peerless, cosmopolitan English.

It is worth while to note in passing, that the conflict which for the last few years has been waging here in America between partisans of classical and scientific courses, between the old education and the new, is no new thing. It began in Germany more than fifty years ago. During the lapse of the first half of this century, repeated attempts were made under the most favorable circumstances and with the most august patronage to establish and conduct schools for the higher education of business men, artisans, and farmers, dispensing with the ancient languages. The results are, that most of the experiments were total failures; some, carried on in connection with classical schools, have maintained an existence. For those which survived on independent foundations, in Prussia, the government, by its minister of education, in 1859, issued a set of final regulations which put down Latin to be recited from three to eight hours a week for all the school weeks in a course of nine years. Modern languages, English, French and German replace Greek in these so-called "Real" or Scientific schools.

I do not remember to have seen any agricultural or scientific course proposed in this country which does not embrace the study of at least one foreign language. Still all I would insist

upon is that by some means those youth whom we undertake to educate thoroughly, be trained in the use of language. If this practical end can be reached by way of the modern, easier and surer than by the ancient languages, we may heartily rejoice. Success, then, to the "New Education," if it can win it.

The foregoing talk about language study is mostly "bosh." The speaker had won his spurs as a teacher of languages before the war of the slaveholders' rebellion, and was still under the spell of the old superstition. He has long since ceased to believe that a knowledge of some foreign language is essential to a mastery of English, spite of the great name of Goethe. Masters of English can get much out of the study of foreign languages. The little knowledge of a foreign tongue, ancient or modern, to be got in the little time, and by the possible methods of schools is of slight account. The fact that a teacher of languages can set definite tasks and ascertain whether his pupils have performed them has given the "classics" an educational value not to be too lightly appreciated. We have yet to learn how to make a discipline of English.

But it will very likely be said, "the curriculum proposed for the youth is nothing new, for it is essentially that of the old colleges." Yes, very nearly that; almost identical with the college courses of thirty years ago, before they had become overloaded with all sorts of ill-assorted, incoherent additions. It is a curse of our smaller

colleges, that with small means and few instructors they undertake more work than they can possibly perform *well*.

With the establishment of the university on its proper ground, a reform will inevitably be demanded in its organization. A few of the older and richer institutions will assume the university character, as some have already done. But the greater number, without doubt, will be forced to return to their original and natural position as secondary schools. They will curtail their courses instead of further extending them. They will resume the duty of providing that family government and parental discipline which they retain in theory, but which long ago fell into disuse. Such schools may, and as many think, ought, to be distinctively religious; and if private, will be all the better for enjoying the sponsorship of reputable Christian bodies.

We should, therefore, have a three-fold scheme of education. 1st, The common schools. 2nd, The colleges or secondary schools. 3rd, The university.

The common schools of America have already been largely gratuitous. They will by and by be everywhere free in that sense. A grand thought it is that no child shall ever be born in the State of Minnesota, but shall be free to take without money and without price the elements of good learning. These schools will always remain,

in some sort, public, and under civil control. I hope presently to show that the University must also be the creature and care of the state. And the reasons I shall give for that conclusion will almost necessarily compel the further admission that the state must in some manner support and control the secondary schools; and this I think it can do without trespassing upon any private right, offending religious sentiment, or violating any American principle. I know not how this proposition may be received by our educational men or by the people, but I think I ought to make it. If ever any such system of secondary schools shall be organized, I feel certain that it must provide among others such a course of study as I have mapped out for the college or higher academy, preparatory to the university. I would have that course prescribed in sufficient detail by law.

I do not think the public secondary school would, or ought wholly to supersede the private denominational colleges. There will always be a large number of sons and daughters of transient persons, orphans and others, who will need or prefer the discipline of a family school, and I would never shut private competition out of any field of work, which it can profitably occupy. The economy of such secondary high schools or colleges will be at once apparent, if we but mention, that the courses of study being few and limited, a moderate number of instructors could attend

to many students, that no elaborate apparatus, museum, or library would be essential to their successful operation. The gain would be immensely increased so soon as we should be able to relegate to these schools those studies which now form the body of work for the first two years in our ordinary American colleges. It is a clear case that such a transposition must by and by be made. For certain reasons not necessary, nor advisable, to name here, the reading of classical authors, and the study of the pure mathematics have become much less valuable than formerly. In fact, the causes I allude to have driven the best methods of instruction out of the colleges.

The principal of the suppressed reasons for the alleged deterioration of classical study and instruction was the clandestine use of "cribs" and "ponies" by college students, which had not long before become much too general, owing to the publication of the Bohn translations.

How immense the gain, then, if a youth could remain at the high school or academy, residing in his home, until he had reached a point, say, somewhere near the end of the Sophomore year, there to go over all those studies which as a boy he ought to study, "under tutors and governors." Then let the boy, grown up to be a man, emigrate to the university, there to

enter upon the work of a man, to be master of his time and studies, to enjoy perfect "academic freedom," keeping only to the rule, of so using his own as not to harm another. No man can be a scholar till he has learned to be his own teacher. This may be that time of trial through which every young man must pass in order to prove him, whether he will be a true man or no.

This proposal to dethrone the traditional system of higher education seemed to orthodox friends who really understood it as the rant of a wild educational mutineer. That "The American College" could possibly be improved upon was inconceivable. Away back in the '50's when the speaker was a schoolboy he enjoyed the friendship of Professor Charles A. Joy of Columbia College, who had taken up his life work after a long period of study in German universities. From him came the knowledge of the gymnasium, the splendid secondary school, fitting German boys for the work of men in the university. During nearly twenty years of teaching, military service and business the idea incubated. With great trepidation the speaker ventured, on this (for him), most important occasion to announce the principle of a system of public education, with its natural trinity of epochs, primary, secondary, superior. That it was not openly and vigorously denounced, was due to the fact that it was not understood, or, if understood, was not taken seriously.

The college may be denominational, but the university must be secular. The Church certainly has no sufficient motive, and as things are, can-

not command the means to erect and control it. The interest of the Church in science is an indirect and secondary one, and is in results rather than in methods. What she is chiefly concerned in is, that "children be virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life." Her efforts, then, ought to be exerted upon children and youth, so far as she will interfere in education at all. When she shall have carried the gospel and the elements of civilization to all accessible heathen, it will be time enough for her to invest the tithes and offerings in observatories, dissecting rooms, moot courts, and experimental farms.

Though the Church has no proper motive nor any means she can consistently use to endow the university, it does not follow that the university must or can be unchristian, for her very office and occupation are the discovery and inculcation of *truth*. To ignore Christianity, she must ignore history, and banish literature. She may, and even ought to teach all the sciences which underlie the clerical profession; but she can no more undertake to teach denominational dogmas, than to recognize the thousand 'isms, 'pathies, and 'ologies which claim a connection with other professions.

We have seen that religion has no call to found a university. No argument is needed to show that individual men cannot be depended upon to perform that service. We can applaud our

Vassars, and Cornells, our Packers and Peabodys, and honor ourselves in calling down benedictions upon them, but we cannot compel their beneficence; Minnesota cannot postpone her university until some public-spirited millionaire comes down with the needful millions.

The public spirited millionaire has come with his millions. He has founded new universities, superior in plant, equipment and strength of teaching force to existing institutions one or two centuries old. To many of the latter he has, by princely gifts of buildings, books, and endowment funds, given new life, and expanded efficiency, By generous distribution of retiring allowances, he has released scores of colleges of the support of superannuated teachers, and made them happy with a secured maintenance in their old age. So far as dollars are concerned, it may be that university education might be maintained altogether by the enlightened generosity of Cornells, Stanfords, Rockefellers, and Carnegies. It may be that no state will ever be so generous toward her university as these great benefactors towards those founded by themselves. Shall the state then dismantle and disband her university? Up to this time Minnesota has had no call to consider any such proposition.

The essential thing is that the state must see to it that there shall be a university, to complete and balance the system of public education. Should it be the pleasure of some man of great wealth and great heart to found and endow a university of ample scope, to be virtually the State University, it is not easy to see why he might not be accommodated, and the taxpayers relieved. The state would, of

course, preserve her power of visitation. In a very large state there may be room (as in California) for a university of magnificent proportions, privately endowed, alongside of the state's university. In small states the desirable thing is that private gifts of ordinary magnitude, go to swell the resources of the state university. Universities are much too costly to be multiplied merely to serve as monuments to millionaires.

There remains, then, but one resource. The State, the Commonwealth, the sovereign people in their organized political capacity must found the university.

I do not care to insist that the state is bound to endow the university for the same reason we use to justify her interference in primary education, viz.: that university education is absolutely essential to the existence and preservation of free institutions. I am content merely to urge that university education is essential to the well-being, rather than to the being of the state; this granted, our case is made.

What then can the university do for the state? First of all she can form the head and crown of our system of schools, sending her life-giving influence to its remotest fibres. The university should be the great normal school for teachers of high schools, academies and colleges. The university by refusing its degrees and honors to illiterate and unworthy candidates, can not only raise the standard of scholarship in all the

schools, but can elevate the professions from the low condition into which they have confessedly fallen. And there is another consideration, which ought to be mentioned here. The university in organizing colleges of medicine and law, owes it to the people not merely to instruct the few to heal diseases, and manage suits at law, but to teach the many how to keep well and out of litigation.

The original charter of 1851 of the University of Minnesota, provided for a normal department; that of 1868, did not so provide in terms, but the regents were left free to include one in the "more colleges" authorized. Pedagogical instruction was begun by Professor Kiehle in the late nineties, but the college of education was not formally organized till 1907; thus, tardily justifying the prescience of the first projectors.

As to the standard of scholarship, this university has maintained a fairly respectable grade.

For some years after the beginning of college work in the University of Minnesota an emphasis probably too great was laid by the management on scholastic performances, but later, with a worldly wisdom which must be commended, the authorities have preferred to pursue a policy calculated to win public support, rather than the approval of scholars. Nothing so much pleases the public, and legislatures as bigness. The university which attracts and keeps great numbers of students, can have appropriations after its desire. The public would hardly support an institution whose examinations should exclude applicants with imperfect preparation, and

eliminate from its classes students who fail to obtain high percentages in the examinations. Yet that would be an ideal university which admitted and kept at work only the élite youth of the state, in reduced numbers. Under the elective system, which has had a great development in this university, the old plan of ranking candidates for the bachelor's degree according to the marks obtained in their recitations and exercises, became impracticable and ridiculous and has been given up. So also, has the classification of bachelors into those of Arts, Science, and Literature: all are now bachelors of Arts. The bachelor's degree in these days certifies that the bearer has passed four years in some college, has maintained a tolerable scholarship, and has kept the peace. It would be common sense to abolish it altogether, but tradition is powerful and "hocce diploma" will long continue to be handed out on the commencement stage. Such being the case it would be well to follow English precedent, and let the bachelor's degree stand for a "pass degree," and supplement it by an honor system involving rigorous examinations conducted by examiners other than the teachers. Teachers should always be holding examinations in some form, but no honors should be conferred for them.

It must be added that this University has stood firmly by its early promise never to confer degrees except for merit ascertained by examinations.

The colleges of law and medicine (which for the present purpose may include those of pharmacy and dentistry), have from their organization in 1888, steadily advanced the thoroughness of their instruction, and the rigor of their examinations. Both have extended their courses to cover four full years, and established conditions of admission, as exacting,

probably, as the present state of our education warrants. In the good time coming they will exact the complete secondary school preparation contemplated in this address. Indeed public notice has been given of such intention.

The time is not distant when a Department of Public Health will be established in all universities, which will teach all that can be known as to the causes of epidemics, the sanitary conditions and control of cities, hospitals, asylums, prisons, school buildings, dwellings and all constructions and enclosures.

Dr. Charles N. Hewitt was for nearly a quarter of a century the executive secretary of the state board of health. In that office he conferred great benefits on the state and won an international reputation. He was elected non-resident professor of public health in the university, and for many years, gave instruction to the academic students on the hygiene of the individual, the family and the city, of great interest and value. After the organization of the college of medicine and his removal from office for political reasons, the board of regents unadvisedly, and in a manner disrespectful to one who had served many years without compensation, left his name off the roll of instructors and discontinued his department. This was a move to the rear. The University of Minnesota may some time be boasting that she was the first in America to open a "department of Public Health."

The university will accumulate and maintain a great library, to which citizens can resort for

complete information on any useful subject. Next to the instruction, the library is the great interest of the university. Mr. Carlyle, speaking to the youth of Edinburgh University said to them in his quaint way, "The main use of universities in the present age is that, after you have done with all your classes, the next thing is a collection of books, a great library of good books, which you proceed to study and to read." To such a library as will some day exist here, can resort not only the scholar, and the learned author, but the historian, the statistician, the legislator, the editor, the manufacturer and the inventor, to consult those works which are beyond reach of private means.

In regard to the library it is not too much to say that the policy the regents and the state has been niggardly. For nearly forty years the oversight was left to a busy professor who was allowed a petty compensation for the extra labor. In 1895, scorning all professional counsel the regents erected a library building violating every principle of library construction, at a cost of $200,000. It would have been far more judicious to expend $50,000 or say, $75,000 on a plain brick building and put the rest of the money into books. All the books now owned by the institution do not exceed 120,000. This number ought to be quadrupled in the next decade. The University of Chicago bought 300,000 books and housed them in a building which cost $12,500.

Next, the university will collect and arrange a museum of history, natural history, and art.

It is difficult in a new country to appreciate the value and importance of such collections. We are too easily misled into thinking of the museum as a mere "curiosity shop." The museum is the perfection and climax of object-teaching. One glance at a fossil skeleton, the sight of a piece of coral, a trilobite, or a fern from the coal-beds gives to the young geologist an insight not to be won from volumes of reading. If you wish your young machinist to comprehend the steam engine, show him one in operation. Waste no useless talk to inexperienced youth upon the beauties of fine art, but hang up "the Transfiguration," bring forth an Etruscan vase, unveil the marble form of that Gladiator of the Capitol, "butchered to make a Roman holiday."

The museum as conceived but very inadequately announced by the speaker, is almost as far from realization in the University of Minnesota, as in 1869. The geological collections made in the course of the geological survey is about all there is to show. The cost of collecting, housing, maintaining and administering museums of general character is so enormous that only the richest of institutions can aspire to them. The university of a large and populous state should be the appropriate agency for the one great museum the state needs to afford. It is too much to hope that even the richest of universities will soon undertake to maintain a continuous world's fair, but it should be reckoned among its ideals.

Another function of the university is to prosecute those scientific researches and make those costly experiments in the arts for which private investigators lack the means; such experiments for instance, as those of Lawes and Gilbert upon the nutrition of plants. We purchase a telegraph, the photograph, a new motor, the spectroscope, the lucifer match, or chloroform cheaply at the price of fifty years of seemingly fruitless laboratory work. Chloroform alone pays for all the money ever expended in chemical researches. To take a case nearer home; if the expenditure of say $20,000 could result in discovering but one species of the apple, sure to thrive in Minnesota, no one would call that money ill spent. Closely connected with this function is another: that of stimulating invention and patronizing inventors. Let it never be forgotten when giving to James Watt, the immortal benefactor of his race, that applause he so richly deserves, to celebrate also that University of Glasgow which sheltered him, and those her learned and generous professors who appreciated his gifts, assisted him through his struggles, and without jealousy rejoiced in his triumphs. The university should be the natural resort and resource of the inventor for counsel and for information. Were the university ready to do her full work here, there would, I believe, be less money squandered in patent right hum-

bugs, and fewer brains addled with "perpetual motion."

It is hardly necessary in these days to emphasize the practical value of the scientific researches carried on by university men. A single example may be noted in the case of Professor Michelson of the University of Chicago, winner of the Nobel prize in 1907, for his invention of the "Interferometer." This instrument gives the world an absolute standard of measure in wave lengths of light.

The apple illustration has not been literally illustrated in Minnesota, but it has been the honorable part of her university to encourage and reward the late Peter M. Gideon, discoverer of the Wealthy apple, now grown all over the Northwest.

As a part of her practical scientific work, the university will build and operate the observatory, in which will be made perpetual observations on the weather, the magnetic forces, and on heavenly bodies. And I cannot think of any more practical use to which her means can be put. Take as an illustration of the possible results of meteorological researches, the great discovery of the laws of circular storms, the knowledge of which enables the modern navigator to steer clear of them with almost unerring precision. The observatory is needed not alone for its practical uses, but for its stimulating influence upon all the departments of science, especially upon mathematics and the physical sciences.

The mere keeping of correct time is no trifling matter. The movements of railway trains, the

sittings of courts and legislative bodies, the sessions of the schools, the very titles to our homesteads, the daily routine of our mills and factories, the wages of our laborers require the maintenance of an absolute standard of time. The great clock of the heavens alone can furnish that, and the astronomer only can read its radiant dial-plate. I would therefore require the university astronomer, by means of telegraphic wires to drop a signal ball, daily at noon, atop of every court house and public building in the state.

The speaker's exhortation received a tardy fulfillment. It was not till 1892 that a small observatory was erected and supplied with instruments sufficient for instruction. The trustees of Carleton College, more enterprising and appreciative than the regents of the university, in 1878 established an observatory, which soon became known throughout the learned world. It has ever since furnished true time to the Minnesota railroads and public offices. The classes of the state university were for many years called by Northfield time.

I see now that I can only enumerate without detail several other particular demands of the public on the university. The state needs not merely intelligent voters; she more and more requires with the advance of time, and multiplication of interests, experts in legislation, in the administration of public affairs, and for her military defense. It will, I think, presently become

apparent that this need is so imperative that the state generally will be forced to provide means whereby, and places in which instruction may be had in such sciences as political economy, international law, the science of government, parliamentary usage, the keeping of public accounts and the science and art of war. We cannot much longer run the risk of private institutions, whether secular or religious, prosecuting thoroughly and practically these subjects. Already we have a great accumulation of political questions; questions of suffrage, of tariffs, of railroads, of schools, of finance, any one of which is too big and too complicated to be handled by any who does not make it his special study. It is true the university can teach nothing finally nor dogmatically upon such questions, but she can train up generations of men to be their own teachers, and to verse themselves in those matters. It is already clearly impossible for us to preserve civil institutions so simple as to be within the easy comprehension of all citizens; and since we must trust to experts, let us have the best.

The writer took up the instruction in economics and politics in 1875, as soon as any class was ready for it and for more than twenty years gave all that was offered in an institution called "university." Whether they did not care about this great field of learning, especially deserving their promotion, or because they were more interested in other sciences,

or because the teacher lacked ability to stimulate them to action, the regents dallied and temporized, and gave the most important department in their care a tardy development. They are still twenty years behind the age, but under the stimulus of an able and ambitious head of department, who knows how to marshal public bodies and the press they give signs of movement.

As to the importance of keeping alive the military spirit of the people, and the practice of arms, I need only point for assurance to the condition in which many of our states found themselves at the outbreak of the late civil war. The state university with a trifling expense of time and money, can secure to the whole body of its male students a fair knowledge of the use of arms, and can thoroughly instruct some portion of them in the elements of military science. The result would be that, should there unfortunately occur the need, many hundred young men would be ready and competent to organize and command companies and battalions. To render such instruction in any high degree profitable, however, the university must in some manner derive authority from the state to enforce, so far as may be necessary, military discipline.

Under a succession of worthy and ingenious army officers the military instruction required by the "Morrill Bill" of 1862 of all institutions sharing in the benefits of the act, has been carried on with

commendable fidelity and success. It has been and will continue to be, difficult to fit in military drill requiring the attendance of all male students at the same hour into a university program. This difficulty will be remedied when the Government comes to detail a sufficient number of sergeants to assist the army officer furnished as commandant of cadets. Mere "drill" ought to be taught to boys in the preparatory schools, leaving the university to add instruction in military science proper. The prosperity and admirable efficiency of such military schools of secondary rank as Shattuck School at Faribault, is good warrant for this suggestion. Experience has not shown the need of special military authority.

It may be expecting too much of the near future, but it is still gratifying to hope, that it may give to the American states and nation, some such system as that already long in use in England, and as proposed in Congress by Mr. Jenckes, of Rhode Island, a "civil service system" which will require candidates for public preferment to prove their fitness for the offices aspired to by passing examinations before impartial boards. If ever that day shall come when the state shall make such demands upon those whom she calls into her service, they in turn, will require with a certain justice that she furnish the instruction. If she do this at all, she must do it generously and freely, for there must never be in a republican country any position of honor or trust to which the humblest citizen may not aspire.

As already shown the University of Minnesota has still to provide for large and liberal instruction in economics, taxation, administration and finance, and other studies proper to equip men for the public service. The progress in Civil Service reform in state and municipal affairs still lags behind that in national.

A member of the University faculty is maturing and will propose a plan by which the University will be charged with a survey of the State, to embrace not merely its topography, and geology, but its hydrography, its botany, its entomology. A part of the plan will be to furnish scientific employment for a number of years to young men pursuing scientific studies at the University.

The faculty member referred to was Professor Arthur Beardsley, then instructor in civil engineering. The project was much discussed between him, Professor Edward Hadley Twining, and the speaker. Both gentlemen were soon called to other institutions. It remained for the president of the University in the winter of 1872 to draft a bill for the organization of a geological and natural history survey of the state, which was easily passed through the legislature without change; the more easily because Regents Pillsbury and Nicols were both members of the senate. It was the hope and expectation of the framer of the bill that the surveys would be so closely connected with that of the appropriate scientific departments of instruction as to employ and interest a large number of students and give

them opportunity for practice in observation and research. It was the pleasure of the board of regents to adopt a different policy. Professor Newton H. Winchell was engaged in the same year as state geologist and conducted the geological investigations till 1900 when they were suspended, although much remained to be done. The natural history operations were delayed in starting and are still in progress. The geological survey has saved the state from much waste of energy and money in digging for coal above the Carboniferous. And it has given the University some reputation.

Such are some of the services the University can render to the State, and are so many reasons why she is bound to interfere in its behalf.

An institution which undertakes such offices MUST BE RICH. And here we have an additional claim upon the public. The very vastness of the concern exceeds private means and corporate authority. Harvard University, by far the wealthiest academic corporation in America, is to-day asking her alumni to increase her endowment by a sum sufficient to yield an additional income of $250,000.

Cornell University, rich in prospect, is poor to-day with an income of about $75,000. Michigan University spends $80,000 a year. The University of Berlin expends yearly over $200,000 in gold upon a scale of prices far below American rates.

The revenue of Yale College is not a small one, and yet this is what a Yale professor says

in the columns of the "New Englander" for April 1869: "The professors are not more than half paid, * * * the salaries are not more than half sufficient to support a family respectably in New Haven. * * * The Library fund is miserably inadequate * * * The corps of instructors ought to be doubled. * * * Yale College is woefully poor. * * * She has not a dollar to buy books." * * *

Such is the financial condition of one of our oldest, best-managed, and most popular American colleges. And what is the cry that comes up from every college large and small in the land, but "money! money!! money!!!" The religious press rings with appeals for gifts and endowments, alumni of colleges pour in large offerings of love and gratitude, noble men and women dying, bequeath rich legacies to favorite institutions, but still the cry is "money, money, money!"

There is, as I have said, but one resource. The state must endow the university, and if the state will have the university in its full proportions, let her first count the cost, and take the ***million for her unit.***

"To take the million for the unit" was an audacious proposition in that day, but it has been abundantly justified. The payroll of the University of Minnesota in 1908-9 was $570,000 and expenses of operation swelled the budget to $750,000. The an-

nual expenditure hereafter will be reckoned by the million.

If the state endow the university she must needs control so great a concern; and such control, if wisely conditioned, is just now one of the great needs of the university. To properly govern a great academic community, composed of persons rather loosely connected with the local society, requires an authority greater than any corporate body can of itself confer. The students of the State university, beneficiaries, should be regarded as *engaged in the public service*, enjoying the public bounty upon condition of, and only during good behaviour. We build reform schools and penitentiaries for vicious and incorrigible youth. The State university will have no motive for retaining young persons of evil example either upon financial or social considerations.

The university needs public authority to sanction and dignify her degrees, and other certificates of merit. It is not necessary to enter upon a discussion of the causes which of late years have brought college degrees into low estimation, one may almost say, into actual contempt. The fact is notorious and undeniable. The State university, not depending for her support upon the tuition money of her students, nor dreading the censure of unsuccessful candidates and their

friends, may stand firmly by her rule of granting NO DIPLOMA WHICH DOES NOT MEAN WHAT IT SAYS. Let her stand by this rule, and the time will come when every graduate will write with pride the name of his Alma Mater after the initials of his degree. The diploma will be a passport to employment and social position, and not, as now, to be hid away with the manuscripts of old college themes.

As to the means through which the state will exert her influence and authority, that question has already been for us wisely decided. Her authority has been vested by law in a board of responsible commissioners. There is safety in such assignment. The governing body of a great academic institution must possess a degree of permanence not so necessary for a legislature, and must be separated so far as possible from the influence and interference of partisan politics.

In the hands of the Board of Regents is or ought to be, reposed by law, all the power necessary to the execution of their great trust. But since it is clearly impossible that such a board can remain in permanent session, attending constantly to the affairs of the Institution, their authority must be largely delegated to such persons as are employed by them to be permanently on duty; that is, to the president and faculty of the University, who being largely and immediately responsible to the public for its success or fail-

ure must have a control commensurate with their responsibility. There will, therefore, grow up in time a body of statutes defining the duties and powers of all concerned. Some powers, however, a Board of Regents cannot possibly delegate. The vitally important matter of the finances must always remain in their hands, because the people will hold them and not others, responsible for the efficient and honorable management of the University funds.

The relation of the university to the state still needs to be better understood and better adjusted. Up to near the middle of the nineteenth century all schools in America were denominational or municipal, which in some cases meant the same thing. Horace Mann's great work in the forties was to teach his countrymen that the schooling of the children is an imperative duty and function of the state, and the cost of it a just lien on all the property of the state. Long after that the university of the state was regarded as one of the incorporated colleges in the state to hold its own with them if it could. It is still so regarded by many. But for the early established policy of congressional land grants for their endowment it is doubtful whether the states would have cared to incorporate universities. Minnesota received through a proceeding of doubtful merit a double portion, 96,160 acres, and the expectation was that the proceeds would give the state a magnificent institution.

To this day the state university is not understood as clearly as it ought to be, as the roof and crown of a complete system of public education, and

as an arm of the state to that end. Instead of being the only degree-conferring agency of the state her graduates have no advantage over those of the poorest apology for a college. The university diploma is not a warrant for the practice of medicine in Minnesota. The legislature has not yet so discredited the college of law. This is the state of fact in spite of Jefferson's prophecy and the Indiana constitution of 1816. But there is progress, and we may look for the day when the state university will be regarded as the crowning feature of an educational system, and the appropriate agency of the state for all scientific, economic, and statistical inquiries needed by her.

Experience has as yet suggested no better way of governing American universities than by putting them into commission to a board of trustees or regents as they are commonly called in the west. And, no better way of making regents has been found than that of appointment by the governors with senatorial confirmation. If the governing board of the University of Minnesota has been exceptionally well composed, it is due to the excellent custom of reappointment. General Sibley, a democrat, served during the administrations of eight republican governors. Governor Pillsbury was on the board from 1863 till his death in 1902. It cannot be said that party politics had absolutely no part in the appointment of regents, but it may be said that no harm has as yet come from that source to the institution. It is not difficult for a governor to find in the ranks of his own party men in every way qualified to act as regents. There can be no excuse for the selection of unworthy and incapable persons.

Nor, up to the present time, has experience developed any better way of conducting the discipline

of student bodies than that of reposing it in the hands of a president and faculty. That simple plan worked well enough when colleges were small and there were no independent professional schools on the same campus. Where student deviltries are committed by members of separate colleges no one faculty can properly deal with the offenders. The resort lately made to a senate or council made up of delegates from the faculties of the federated colleges gives promise of success. Fortunately the average student requires no discipline except that which results from the exaction of hard and steady work. In the cases of rare outbreaks disturbing the peace of the university town, there is no reason why the law of the land supported by adequate force, should not operate. But the force must be adequate and intelligently employed. When a crowd of collegians so far outnumber the police as to be able to overcome them, take away their arms, and tie them up to trees, the law of the land becomes a farce. For offenses committed, as they occasionally will be, within the precincts of the university, the faculty or council tribunal composed of a large number of men busied with their teaching and research, with no taste for the business, is a clumsy instrument. The plan of having in a great university a special judge, with power to take testimony under oath, to punish for contempt, and to impose reasonable penalties prescribed by law is worthy of consideration. It is an ancient practice in continental universities. No body of persons should be allowed to believe itself above the law of the land.

Another duty which the regents cannot devolve is the exceedingly delicate one of selecting the instructors. The instruction, be it remem-

bered, is the first, great, pre-eminent concern of the university, and that by which it must stand or fall. There are reasons why the selection of a university professor is a more delicate and difficult task than any other the Board will be called upon to perform. The university professor is no drill-master of boys, no mere grammarian, no mere scientific showman. He is first of all a teacher. He is also a scholar and an investigator. He is an enthusiast in his own calling, absolutely wedded to it, and "forsaking all others, will keep himself only unto it." He is no adventurer, turning his hand now to this trick now to that as he finds the one or the other to pay the better. In fact he must be a man who, like Professor Agassiz, "cannot afford to make money." Such men when, by good fortune they are found, deserve a peculiarly tender and liberal regard, such as that which Cicero claimed for his Greek poet. They are men who prepare themselves for a kind of work for which the demand is limited and precarious. The college professor, thrown upon the world, is at a great disadvantage compared with men whose days and nights have not been given to books and the pen. There will be no duty, then, so delicate and embarrassing as the selection of the Faculty. This duty, however, will grow lighter hereafter, when the ranks of the instructors can be recruited from the alumni.

The selection of the teachers of the university is the supreme duty of the governing board, and one which it cannot devolve. They will avail themselves of the aid of experienced heads of departments, and in particular of the head of the university. To this duty he should subordinate all others. After an unhappy experiment of annual elections the regents of this university fell back on the traditional policy of electing for good behavior. So long as this is the general practice no one institution can reject it. Able men will not enter the service of an institution which offers no permanence of employment, and such as it may engage will be looking for chances to emigrate. Permanence of employment, however, renders the original engagement of professors the more difficult and critical a task. Aspirants cannot object to a reasonable apprenticeship, and while that is in progress it should be the business of somebody to observe with diligence his character, attainments and teaching ability. The weakest point in university administration is the absence of "supervision." Such are the traditions of college work that a professor would resent as unwarranted espionage any visitations of the president to his class room, and an instructor would tolerate with ill grace any attempt at inspection of his work by the head of the department. The consequence is that services are judged of through all sorts of indirections, including the reports of students. There ought to be some way found by which an aspirant to a college professorship could have his efficiency determined by competent and impartial judges.

After such an apprenticeship an election should mean an engagement for life or good behavior. The rapidly expanding custom of granting "retiring al-

lowances" to superannuated professors furnishes another reason for extreme care in the choice of university teachers, whether the pensions come from the public funds or from the generous benefactions of Mr. Carnegie. There should be no doubt as to the worthiness of the recipients. A state has no business to own and support a university not manned by the best men she can attract into her service, and should pay any compensation necessary to attract and keep. Fortunately, honor, permanence of employment, and generous treatment, are of more account to "best men" than dollars, but dollars should be freely disbursed when other universities bid high for experts.

I have spoken of the University as she will be; as an ideal to be realized long after all who are gathered here to-day shall have ceased from the studies of earth and passed to the great examination day above. Building for the future we will lay broad and solid foundations for the structures our posterity shall rear. But as we build for the present also, and build in part, we first will found and arrange those departments of the most immediate and practical use. It will be the part of wisdom to teach first those sciences and arts by which we may subdue the prairie and the forest, bridge our great rivers, utilize the powers and forces of nature, diversify industry, and multiply the kindly fruits of the earth, before we lavish our means upon galleries of painting or musical conservatories. The plow, the loom, and the

anvil, must precede the pencil, the chisel, and the baton.

I have said the University is catholic, knowing no favorite pursuits, but welcoming, fostering all. But it may happen that the University may be made an almoner and trustee of funds, appropriated to the cultivation of some special science, or for the benefit of a particular craft or profession. Assuming the office of trustee she can do nothing less than execute sacredly her trust. The assignment by the legislature of Minnesota of the funds which are to accrue from the sale of lands granted by the general government to endow institutions in the interest of the industrial classes to this University, I suppose to constitute such a trust. Nothing I can say here could increase the confidence which ought to be felt by the people and their legislators in this governing body, made up of men not strangers to you, nor to your State, not without successful experience in military, civil and business life and not without applause for a sagacious and honorable administration of the affairs of this University, now first presenting itself to the public.

There are two things, however, which I may do. The one, to counsel to patience. Rome was not built in a day; nor can the agricultural and mechanical college, a novel kind of academic work, be brought to perfection in this new State, in any short period. The other thing is to re-

mind all concerned that this magnificent land grant was made not merely for the *technical* instruction of the industrial classes, but for their liberal culture; "IN ORDER," says the act, "to promote the *liberal* and *practical* education of the industrial classes." In the light of this fact, every blow that has been struck here, every stone that has been laid should be reckoned as in bona fide fulfillment of the trust. And therefore, this honorable Board of Regents might in all sincerity say to the farmers and artisans of Minnesota: "The doors of your University stand open; her instructors are ready in their places; send hither your youth, and they shall be taught those things they need to learn, without money and without price."

I desire here to allude to a matter connected with this subject which, I think, will deserve and presently will receive your attention. The act of 1862 granting lands for agricultural colleges apportioned them according to the number of senators and representatives from each state *at that time*. Now the census of 1870 will very much change the ratio of representation among the states. Some of the new states, Minnesota among them, will, I suppose, have doubled their population since the census of 1860. The question then arises, was not that apportionment an unequal one, and unjust to the new states?

New York State with an area of 46,000 square miles, takes 990,000 acres. Minnesota with her

83,000 square miles of territory, receives 120,000; that is, Minnesota having nearly *double* the acreage of New York, gets less than *one-eighth* as much land. It is a fair question, whether there ought not to be made an equalization of this land grant upon some fair basis?

An effort to remedy this open and apparent inequality made in the winter of 1872 aborted mainly through the indifference of a Minnesota senator, then a member of the committee on public lands.

The story of the "Morrill bill" of 1862, its origin, its supporters and the influences which were concentrated to secure its passage, cannot be related here. But attention may be directed to the peculiar phraseology of section four.

"And be it further enacted, that all moneys derived from the sale of the lands * * * * * shall be invested in stocks of the United States or of some state, or some other safe stocks, yielding not less than five per centum upon the par value of said stocks, and that the moneys so invested shall constitute a perpetual fund, the capital of which shall remain forever undiminished, * * * * and the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated by each state * * * to the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies (i. e., virtually including all the old college studies), and including military tactics, (a tub to the military whale of great dimensions at the time), to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education, (i. e. the complete

education), of the industrial classes (that's nearly all of us), in the several pursuits and professions of life, (that is in all honest and lawful vocations)." If the law is literally followed, every institution created under it should be or aspire to be a university. It is an open secret that promoters of the measure had in view the endowment of certain universities.

That was a wise and proper action of the legislature of 1868 which united the state agricultural college located at Glencoe with the University, and merged the endowments. United they have secured the development of one strong and noble institution. Separated, the state would have had on its hands two weak corporations fighting each other from year to year for appropriations to keep them alive. To ascertain what influences induced the friends of the agricultural college in McLeod County to surrender their franchise, is an interesting problem in Minnesota educational history.

But it is high time I beg pardon of the ladies who have favored us with their presence here, for not having alluded to the "woman question" as related to the university. It is one which I knew a great deal more about ten years ago or thought I did, than I dare say now. The co-education question, however, is one which must be met and solved. Presuming that the people of Minnesota mean that there shall be an University here, not in name only, but in fact, I see that some of the difficulties attending the management of mixed schools do not here present themselves. Such difficulties accumulate not in the assembly

hall and recitation room, but in the boarding house; and their number and magnitude seem to depend very much upon circumstances of place, and the age and condition of the pupils.

The Superintendent of Public schools in San Francisco reports decided advantages resulting from the late complete separation of the sexes in the schools of that city. On the other hand we have in the country at least one institution that for twenty years or more has been steadily doing the thing which so many wise and cunning educators have argued could not be done. I mean Oberlin College, within whose walls are gathered to-day nearly 1200 youths of both sexes and various ages. President Fairchild declared lately in a public address before a convention of teachers, that the first case of a scandalous nature had yet to occur in that institution.

Such conflicting examples clearly indicate that no solution of the troublesome problem has yet been reached which all can acquiesce in, and which reaches all latitudes and longitudes. We shall be wise, if watching closely the signs of the times, and the demands made upon us by the people, we wait patiently, working the while faithfully, for a system to grow from our soil, native to our own skies.

There is, however, this consideration worthy perhaps of notice here. The University is not founded nor operated in the interest of any class

of men, nor of any one art. It exists for the benefit of society, not merely for that of individuals, whether male or female. It knows not male nor female, "Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." The doors of its auditoria, its laboratories, its library, stand open to all worthy comers; that is to all persons of good fame, who prove themselves competent to hear and receive its lessons. Neither sex, then, nor craft or condition may with justice demand of her special privileges.

So said the speaker at a time when his only experience of the mixed education had been in the academy field.

After forty years of instructing mixed classes of men and women, he is as little disposed to dogmatize. He has nothing but warm praise for the hundreds of earnest, industrious, level-headed young women who have taken his courses. It has been a delight to instruct them. One thing is beyond question: university privileges cannot be denied to women. They have proven their capacity to do all manner of college work well. They have, therefore, the same right to it as have men. The state must maintain one university for both men and women, or separate ones for the sexes. The experiment of one for both will continue. At the present time there is a decided drift towards the establishment of dormitories, rest and study rooms, and restaurants for the exclusive use of women.

Experience has proven that men and women students can associate freely without danger. The number of matrimonial alliances initiated in colleges is surprisingly small.

Were we now to sum up and conclude by saying, let all these things be, and be done, and the university is secure, we should be saying very much less than is necessary. Costly and magnificent buildings, princely library, a vast museum, an unrivalled equipment of apparatus, laboratories, observatories, workshops, nurseries, orchards, fish-ponds, farms, and gardens, build, gather and stock them all upon a scale of imperial lavishness, and you might not have a successful University. You might concentrate here the profoundest learning, the rarest eloquence, the acutest dialectics of the civilized world, and yet be as far from it. There are needed eyes to see, and ears to hear, hands to work and brains to think. Any account of the University which leaves its undergraduate students out, is a very beggarly account. Indeed, undertaking to teach all those things which its students desire to learn, it will inevitably take on its character, to some extent, from them. If they come here with mere empirical, catch-penny notions, desiring only to carry away, as soon as possible, diplomas which will license them to prey upon the bodies, souls, and property of their fellow men, the University will very soon become a mere curiosity shop and scientific limbo; good learning will desert her; true teachers and scholars will give way to the dominion of quacks and charlatans. But let the young people who shall

come up here, bring true hearts and willing hands, resolved to "scorn delights and live laborious days"; a generous desire to get, along with useful knowledge, what is better than knowledge, wisdom; a fervent wish to be good and do right in their day and generation; let them rightly value that wise and liberal foresight which has made learning as free as air to them; then the University can live and flourish, and rise steadily and surely upward toward the lofty seat upon which she must finally rest.

Young friends, students of this University, you hold in a manner, its fate in your hands. Your faithfulness, your zeal and diligence, your honest toil for what is real wealth, will give us a good name, and fame which will call hundreds of others to take their places by your sides, and will encourage, yes, even compel, those in authority to add to our means of instruction and your opportunities for learning.

On the other hand, idleness, insubordination, even mere forgetfulness without malice, might sink us to a position of contempt, and compel us to disband and retire from these halls in disgrace. And what is more, you are trustees and representatives of the youth of Minnesota for all time to come, and yours will be the blame, if through any fault of yours they shall be deprived of those their rights now in your trust. Do not wonder, then, that your instructors often

exhort you to diligence, and command your obedience, knowing as they do, that by your doings or misdoings their work and influence are to be reckoned. Then do not think yourselves of small account, since they do not. Wear proudly, young gentlemen, the University gray, and remember that wherever you wear it you represent the University corps. See to it, each one, that you bring no shame upon it.

The exhortation was not needed. The speaker had not lived in the west, and come to know the burning desire of the young men and women for good learning, their willingness and power to work, and their aspiration towards noble characters.

But the youth who shall in future by scores and hundreds resort hither, whence shall they derive such noble manners, such lofty zeal? Whence, but from the hearts and homes of the land? There can be no University worthy the name, without the interest, and co-operation of the *people* of this state. It will be vain that they vote the millions of money that will be needed to fully organize and furnish an American University, if they withold their constant watchfulness and unfailing devotion.

And here, if anywhere outside our own walls, there will be lack. We are all so busy with farms and our merchandize, we so dote upon our great mills, factories, and warehouses, we are so en-

grossed with cent per cent, and the fluctuations of the exchange; we fall down and worship so many "gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood and of stone," that we forget the higher life of men and of society, swamping the nobler duties and opportunities of the spiritual existence in a swelling sea of earthly troubles and triumphs. The State of Minnesota has, or will have, a magnificent endowment for her common schools; but let her not trust to the balances in her treasury to give her such schools as she needs and may have, and which if the people will have them *they* must create them, breathing the very breath of life into them. They may not rely upon some beneficent monarch, by the grace of God their born ruler, to bestow upon them ready-made, the means and machinery of education. They must themselves personally and collectively interfere and co-operate. But they will trust vainly to their princely school fund, if they go to sleep, leaving demagogues, "tinkers, rowdies and snobs" to manipulate it, and they may curse the day it came to them. Eternal vigilance is the price not of liberty alone, but of all the blessings which flourish beneath and around it. The people, then, must build, endow, and forever sustain by their unabating care the University; and it would seem that a people forever free from any heavy burden of taxation for the support of elementary schools, were in a peculiar manner and

degree bound to foster and develop those institutions for higher education, so necessary to stimulate and supplement them. The existence of this great endowment can never form any just excuse to cease from their interest in, and their contributions to good learning, but furnishes the best argument why, leaving the foundation so broadly and generously laid, they should go on to perfect the structures based upon it. I think it safe to say that no political community in the world ever held such vantage ground as that occupied by the State of Minnesota to-day. Upon a clean sheet she can write a few words, which will give her within the lifetime of these youth here, a system of schools such as the world has never seen. I can tell you what these words are: "DIVIDE YOUR RESOURCES FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION. COMBINE THEM FOR HIGHER EDUCATION."

The words of Dr. Andrew D. White, then president of Cornell University.

Carry the common school to every village and cross road, to reach and illuminate every household in the land. Build some high schools, and academies (colleges, as I have called them,) but not too many. Found but one university, for it is not the uni-versity unless it be one.

You have your choice as yet between the one, great, rich, free, populous, cosmopolitan university which shall be your chief pride and joy, and

the dozen or more petty, starveling, ill-appointed affairs, in which as a *people* you will have no common interest. And you can take your choice between educating your artisans and professional men here, on your own soil, and sending them to Yale, to Harvard, to Ann Arbor or Madison; for depend upon it, whatever you may think about it, the young men and women are going where the brains are, and the means of instruction, fullest and freest.

The increase of attendance from fourteen provisional freshmen in the fall of 1869 to 1,152 in 1909 is good proof that the university has won its way to the hearts of the people.

The University, then, is not merely from the people, but for the people. True it will put bread into no man's mouth directly, nor money in his palm. Neither the rains nor the sunshine do that, but they warm and nourish the springing grass, and ripen the harvest. So higher education, generous culture, scholarship, literature, inform, inspire, and elevate communities. Minnesota will become a great and rich commonwealth. Her rare, bracing, salubrious, but not too genial climate is bringing here a population of men who expect to work for their living. Shut up in-doors during the long, though not dreary winters, in workshops and around firesides, our people must by and by become thoughtful, serious, studious, inventive. And though the own-

ers of your soil, and the forests, the proprietors of your railroads and factories will gather imperial fortunes, there will be yet richer men; rich poor men, who landless and moneyless, will win for you new victories over nature, delight and instruct you with the products of genius, and whose names will be the proud heritage of future generations long after Dives and his palaces mingle in undistinguished dust. I mean no sentimental depreciation of material prosperity. Wealth is the inevitable portion of diligence and virtue. Only let men who grow rich in worldly gear, not forget to grow "rich toward God." We found the American University, with a double purpose; the increase of material wealth and comfort, and the culture and satisfaction of the spirit. Let that double object, as summed up by the Psalmist of old be the one glorious end of our efforts and our prayers:

"That our sons may grow up as the young plants, and that our daughters may be as the polished corners of the temple;

That our garners may be full of all manner of store; that our sheep may bring forth thousands, and ten thousand in our streets;

That our oxen may be strong to labour; that there may be no decay, no leading into captivity and no complaining in our streets;

Happy are the people who are in such a case, yea blessed are the people who have the Lord for their God."

II. THE MINNESOTA PLAN

The National Educational Association held its annual convention for 1875 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The President for the year was William T. Harris, known to all American teachers. The following, one of the principal addresses, was delivered before the full convention, in the Academy of Music, on the evening of August 4, by the author of this book.

In the course of a few months the nation celebrates the centennial anniversary of her birthday. Small account will be made by those who participate, of the mere fact that the nation has survived the vicissitudes of a hundred years. While we shall point with honest pride to the developments and achievements of the century, still the thought uppermost in all minds will be that we are really celebrating the triumph of a principle—the principle of free government—"a government of the people, by the people, for the people." This is the fact, of which we wish to remind ourselves, and which we advertise to the world by our great exposition and its accompaniments.

That a whole people may undertake to organize and operate a government is no longer an open question.

Now the object of a government is commonly thought of as negative—"to protect persons and property"—to repel the aggressions of hostile communities—to prevent assault, plunder and anarchy among the citizens;—and with these,—in the opinion of many publicists the public activity ought to cease. When organized society has chained the human tiger, clipped the wings of the human vulture, and drawn the fangs of the human serpent, her function ceases. This doctrine—the *"laissez aller"* doctrine—has had numerous advocates in this country, at times appearing in powerful organized masses. By these the wise old maxim, "That government is best which governs the least," has been sadly wrenched from its true meaning and application. Confessedly true of government as a negative, restraining, repressive agent, it has no necessary application to government as a positive, beneficent agent. Because it is admitted that there should be the least possible hanging, imprisonment, fines and taxes, it cannot be claimed that the people shall not in some public and organized way have certain necessary and beneficent things done. This confusion is due, in my opinion, to the fact that although we have been living under a free government for many generations, most of us have not entirely outgrown that idea of government which has come down from ancient and mediaeval times. We have not succeeded in entire-

ly disconnecting the conception of a government from that of a dynasty divinely commissioned to take care of people.

The American people acknowledge no sceptred monarch divinely appointed to rule, but in a certain large sense are themselves the government, acting through chosen men as agents. The government, in the stricter sense, may be called the people's agency. We have and use a variety of such agencies, according as the business is national, provincial or municipal. We do not use them merely in a negative way to repress disorders and punish malefactors. We employ one of them to carry our letters, a very positive function. We expend large sums of money upon public works. We support the patent office at great cost to the tax-payers. We send out expeditions to discover and explore new lands. We pay some hundreds of thousands to observe the transit of Venus. We employ a small army of men to watch the weather. I doubt if any sane man would say of any of these agencies, that the less they did the better they were, or referring to such functions would quote the maxim, "That government is best which governs the least."

As a matter of fact we see government exercising positive and beneficent functions, i. e., we see the people in their public, organized, legal

capacity, *serving themselves*. I think we must admit their right so to do.

It is not necessary for the present purpose to enter into an exhaustive discussion of the limitations and conditions of this positive form of public activity. There will be no difference of opinion as to the chief criteria by which we are to separate public and private functions.

If there be a certain business or interest of universal concern,—one which pertains to the whole people—one which private hands and means cannot manage and compass—one which in some sense and degree is essential to the public well-being,—such a business, all will admit, must be public.

Education the Chief Function.

Now, education is, in our times, such a business. Peoples no longer exist for dynasties. War is no longer the chief occupation of men and nations. Civilization exists, and the chief business of civilized men is—culture. To make the most of the human powers, spiritual and physical, and to develop them harmoniously,—to extend the boundaries of knowledge,—to harness and tame the wild forces of nature, and to employ them beneficently,—it is for these things that men and states exist. All other employments are mere foraging and housekeeping. Education, then, in its noble and comprehensive sense—is what we are living for. It is the chief con-

cern of each and of all. As mere police is the great negative function of the public activity, education must be the foremost positive function; and as the destiny of men is higher than that of states, so is it more noble for the people to organize culture, than merely to organize tax-gatherers and constables. We call the whole world to witness the spectacle of a people governing themselves. When shall we challenge the nations to the grander spectacle of a whole people educating themselves?

Not that we are unfamiliar with the idea of educating the whole people. We have the example of several foreign states attempting the schooling of the whole body of children and youth. But it must be remembered that, though done for the people, it has not been done by the people. Prussia imposes her school system upon her people, just as she imposes upon them her military system. We must rise above this idea in America. We have no superior classes divinely commissioned to guide and instruct their fellow citizens. We must rise to the nobler conception of the whole people educating themselves, not as a work of necessity nor of charity, but as the natural, legitimate and rational business of civilized men.

The argument for the general welfare function of government is less needed at the present day, when the great political parties are vying with one

another in promising good things to be done by the government for the people.

In my opinion the advocates of public education have habitually taken low and insecure ground. The stock argument in behalf of public schools has constantly been, "The State must educate, because intelligence is essential to the existence of the State." This is an argument of despair and abnegation. The public activity is only called in to supplement, to help out, to rescue. Its justification is really "extra-constitutional."

The argument is vicious for at least two reasons. (1.) It is a *non sequitur*. Granted that intelligence on the part of the citizen is essential to the existence of the State, it does not follow that schooling is. Intelligence does not flow from school houses only,—any more than men live by bread alone. It is not at all difficult to conceive of a community in which children should be so well instructed in the family, that the schoolmaster would have no occupation. There are many who claim, with much plausibility, that it is less necessary either to the public being or well-being that children be taught the arts of reading, writing or reckoning than that they be instructed in a creed and a catechism.

(2.) The argument is defective; in that the opposers may insist, as they often do, that the public interest has been secured when a certain

minimum of rudimentary arts has been taught. Upon such a foundation, all public schooling above the common school is without justification. How often do we hear this plea put in, when public aid is asked to promote the higher education. This middle term "intelligence," in our popular educational syllogism is "undistributed," and so plays fast and loose with us. Some intelligence or some kind of intelligence is what it stands for. The line between that which is essential and unessential is now here, now there. No two observers can agree upon it. Of such a plea, a lawyer would say "it is void for uncertainty."

This argument of State necessity for public education must at length be abandoned. It was never anything but an apology. It has perhaps served a good purpose, as the temporary defensive outwork of a beleagured cause, as yet too weak and timid to take the open field. It is time to advance from this insecure retreat to a bolder and stronger position. Such a one I think we assume when we take the ground already reconnoitered:—(1.) That education must be public, because culture is the chief and paramount business and interest of civilized men; (2.) That the education of the whole people is so great and so costly, that only the public resources can compass it; and (3.) That the agencies to be employed are so vast and multifarious that

they can only be organized by the supreme authority.

This is no plea of justifiable homicide on the part of the state for slaughtering the monster, Ignorance. The whole matter is removed from the forum of police to that of statesmanship.

According to this principle, no arbitrary limit can be set to the public interference in education. None can say to the people, "you may have your common schools, but nothing beyond them." As the field is one and the cause one, there can be but one system, and that must be unbroken, continuous, all-containing. Education is the concern of all. No party, sect, clique, order or profession of men, may lawfully claim exclusive direction of it. The watchword and motto is, "education of the people, by the people, for the people." If this principle be sound, the high school and the university take their place in the system of public culture, of right and not by sufferance. The education of the unfortunate classes, the deaf and dumb, the blind and the idiot can no longer be regarded as a matter of charity, but as the legitimate duty of the people. The sooner we disuse and repudiate the self-righteous designation of "Charitable Institutions," the better. That education is merely a part of our business; it is not a charity.

It is necessary to emphasize the most obvious inference from the preceding discussion: that the

whole educational work must be authorized by the supreme authority,—that is, by the people acting through the ordinary channels, or through new ones to be created for the purpose. In some states already the people have provided themselves with a special machinery for the work of public instruction; that is to say, they have organized a "government" or administration for that purpose. As a general rule, however, this administration is confined to the common school instruction, although there are states in which the higher education has been recognized, and partially provided for by the establishment of state universities. But no state has as yet completely organized education by providing for all grades of instruction. Some beginnings have, however, been made which will lead inevitably and irresistibly to this consummation. Within a few days, the constitutional convention of a neighboring state (Nebraska), has been discussing a project for organizing the whole education of its people by forming a State Board of Education, with local auxiliaries, and placing in its control not merely the common schools, but the high schools and the university.

The address was severely criticized by President Magoun of Iowa College, in the Chicago Advance. His contention was that the state has no concern with education above that of the common school.

Education Must Be Organized.

The organization of education, I believe to be the paramount educational problem in America. Whatever merits our schools and school systems may have, in regard to organization we are far behind many less favored nations. France, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy even, have organized their education. England has not done it, for reasons the same in substance as those which have kept our own states from attempting it. Unable to wholly disabuse our minds of the conception of government as paternal and hereditary, both Englishmen and Americans resent the interference of the public in what they have been accustomed to consider strictly private affairs. This feeling has been strengthened, though not justified, by the claims of numerous religious bodies; some to exclusive control of the whole educational work, some to a part of it.

For this lack in organization no one is to be blamed. We are rather to be grateful that so much has already been done. When the English colonists founded in New England the common school, they began a work which it is ours to carry on to perfection. "They builded better than they knew." To have anticipated, however dimly, the idea of universal public education, was perhaps their most glorious service. The common school system, in its substance, no longer

needs defenders anywhere. It is when we turn to the higher education that we find confusion and disorganization. This field has been steadfastly claimed by religious bodies as their appropriate sphere of educational activity. The determining motive for maintaining the denominational college has always been the training of ministers to propagate the particular faith and doctrine of the denomination. As denominations have multiplied and extended, their colleges have multiplied, not only beyond the needs of the bodies which have established them, but far beyond the needs of the country. Excessive in number, scantily equipped, and indifferently manned, these institutions are, in the language of President Porter, "wasting the most precious resources of the country." While saying this let us not fail to recall with grateful admiration the heroic, and unselfish, but still misdirected efforts of the men who have built up these colleges, and who are now literally laying down their lives to maintain them.

I have not one unkind word for them nor for their work, but it is for the interest of all, that things be seen as they are, and that the signs of the times be read aright by all. The only charge which it is necessary here to urge against the multiplication of small colleges is this, that they stand in the way of the development of the secondary education. It is safe, I think, to say

that there are in some states more colleges than there are efficient preparatory, or fitting schools. For this the small colleges are responsible The secondary education is consequently in a rudimentary condition in America. It is time that it be developed to its full proportions and assigned to its appropriate position. We have recognized and provided for the "operatives' education," and the "gentleman's education." We need a third education for that immense body of the people who *can* get beyond the common school, but *cannot* get to the college.

The term "secondary education" was then rarely heard or used. Rightly employed it relates back to the primary education. The "secondary school" seconds, that is, follows the primary school. College preparation has become an incidental duty.

It is not merely to fit a few young men for college that the secondary schools are needed, although happily this work falls in with the other and greater business of educating, in a practical way, the men and women who direct the work of the world. It is no longer a small number of young men preparing for the learned professions who demand this secondary training, but a vast body of people, till lately unknown to educators. The common school education no longer suffices for the farmer, the artisan, the engineer, the miner, the navigator, the merchant, though it

may answer, in the opinion of gentlemen who operate the law and medical colleges, for persons entering those "learned professions." The secondary schools must, therefore, have their legitimate place and work, and not merely exist as preparatory schools to colleges. I have blamed the supporters of the small colleges for retarding the development of the secondary education. This has been done by them in various ways: first, by squandering funds entirely inadequate to the endowment of colleges, but often sufficient to the equipment of good academies; secondly, by admitting to their classes, students who have not properly performed the work of the school. It is very difficult to retain an ambitious and impatient youth in school, when he knows, and his teachers know, that *some* college will admit him. But thirdly and chiefly, by holding on to about two years of work rightfully belonging to the secondary school, which is thus cramped out of its just proportions, and crowded out of its proper sphere.

There has been a general and gratifying advance in the standards of law and medical colleges, but the number which exact for admission the secondary education contemplated in the address is still small.

Still I am bound here to confess that I do not know of any denominational college, however obscure, which admits, as Freshmen, boys from

the common school and graduates them as Bachelors in four years. This distinction has been reserved for some public institutions called colleges and universities. This is "confusion worse confounded." If a new and crowning argument were needed for the organization of our education I think we have it here.

If we pass on to university education proper we find less confusion because we find that field mostly unoccupied. Poverty forbids, and forever will forbid, the great mass of the colleges from developing into "Genuine Universities." Let us be grateful for poverty when we contemplate the prospect of twenty-six projected universities in a single State. Minnesota had at least five universities chartered before there was a single preparatory school in existence. The stronger and richer colleges already well advanced on to university ground are retarded and embarrassed by the immense load of mere secondary work they are obliged to carry. Full two years of their work is mere school drill, which could be done quite as well and much cheaper elsewhere. The result is a confusion of methods and discipline, great financial embarrassment, and indefinite postponement of the genuine university in America.

An examination of early Minnesota legislative journals discloses the fact that twenty-five bills were introduced for chartering colleges and univer-

sities, and enacted into laws before Minnesota became a state in 1858. A favorite form of title was, e. g., "The Fremont University of Minnesota."

I trust it is apparent that a thorough, orderly and scientific organization of education is at length needed. This want is much more apparent in our new states than in the older ones, in which the various grades of schools have arranged themselves into a convenient association, though not into an organism. In the new states, the public system of education has pushed its way, albeit timidly and tentatively, beyond the limits of the primary field. Many of them have established (so far as legislation can establish) state universities; but no state, so far as I am informed, has yet provided by general laws for any system proper, of secondary schools. The result is a wide and deep chasm between the university and the only lower schools properly within the system,—the primary schools. I say properly within the system, for the high schools carried on in the cities and large villages are municipal establishments, supported mainly by local taxation, independent of state control, and organized rather according to local circumstances and a fashion of the times, than according to any general educational policy. The "independent school district" system must at length be replaced by a better and broader one—a system which shall unite the high schools, the primary

schools, the university, the normal schools and the institutions still falsely called charitable, into a single, harmonious organism.

This gulf between the state universities and the primary schools has been bridged over temporarily by the preparatory departments of the universities. It has not until lately been possible to persuade the local boards of education who control the city high schools, that it was for the interest of all to prepare students for the university. The change for the better in this respect is encouraging. It is a move in the right direction.

It was not till 1878 that the Minnesota high schools were brought into quasi-organic connection with the University, by a law entitled, "An act for the encouragement of higher education." The essential provision was the creation of a so-called "High School Board," to administer a fund for the purposes of the act. This board was authorized to pay a share of the fund to every high school properly equipped and officered, giving instruction in college preparatory studies, to students of both sexes from any part of the state, free of charge for tuition. The effect was to open the city and village high schools to the country boys and girls. At the present time 206 high schools are performing this service, pouring a steady tide of their "graduates" into the university.

It was perhaps superfluous to argue at length in favor of the extension of public interference in

education beyond the primary schools. The fact is that in many states the public system, if system it may be called, has already occupied (usurped, if you please for the present consideration) the whole field. The high schools in our Western cities embracing in their courses many studies of the college, it is only under peculiar circumstances that private academies can exist alongside of them.

Leaving out of account for the present all private and corporate institutions of learning, we see that the people have already resolved to provide themselves with a complete hierarchy of schools. This being the case, no one will deny that for this, there must be organization, compete, exhaustive, rational.

Regarded merely as an industry, education probably stands next to agriculture in the amount of capital invested and labor employed; and yet these are not a tithe of what they ought now to be. Mere financial economy will at length compel a careful and wise organization of our public educational agencies. States will not forever continue to pay universities for doing the work of the secondary schools. They will rather wisely and generously contribute to building up a great galaxy of high schools and academies, all public in some sense, to do that work.

Already the opinion has been voiced that the University of Minnesota will be so overrun with students that it will be necessary to call on the high schools to extend their preparatory courses and hold their students for a longer period.

The state having taken command of the whole educational forces, there is no refuge from the conclusion that she must organize them upon sound principles. She alone has the authority, the power and the motive.

We come then to the question, Upon what principles shall the public education be organized? It will be impossible to treat of this exhaustively in this paper, but it is necessary to state and briefly discuss one or two of them.

1. The state, i. e., the people organized as the source of authority, the depositary of power, and the custodian of the revenues, must organize and hold the chief control and direction of all educational forces and agencies.

It may be assumed that the National University, when established, as it ought to be, will not be a place for formal instruction, much less of discipline of large numbers of undergraduate students. It should not be simply another university, but a place where persons of genius and proved capacity may be enabled to carry on researches, investigations and experiments likely to add to human knowledge and man's power over nature. Each state will still need its own complete system of education.

2. The organization should be such as to employ and embrace all forces and agencies. It must not discourage nor release parents and guardians from the instruction of their children and wards. I should wish indeed that no schooling could be had, which did not require the co-operation and constant activity of parents. It should make room for the work of the Church to the full extent of her interests and resources. The Church is, of her very nature, an educating institution. She joins with parents in training children to "lead godly and Christian lives." She sustains the state by teaching the citizens obedience to law, and incessantly inculcates that principle of brotherhood which is the very core of republicanism. In the vast and magnificent undertaking of educating the whole people the family and the Church cannot be ignored. There is room and work for all. As the modern idea of the army is the *people armed,* so the idea of the school system should be that of the whole people organized for culture.

3. The organization should be such as to allow and to invite the widest competition of persons and agencies. We misconceive the matter, in my opinion, when we think of a school system as a huge, complicated, cast-iron machine, to be imposed upon communities, and which they must accept or go untaught. We do not want a system to be operated by a vast horde of officials, ig-

norant of the whole business, making and unmaking teachers, tinkering courses of study according to no principles or bad ones. There can be no profession of teaching until the teacher can in some way stand upon the same foundation with men of other professions,—that of efficiency, diligence, experience.

The speaker once wrote and published an argument for a common school system which would permit any person of assured competency, to open and conduct a school of his own, and receive public aid, after inspection of his plant, methods and results. The objection immediately raised was, that such a system would enable certain religious bodies to engross the schooling of certain communities.

The best schooling the speaker ever had was in the so-called "select school" of Alexander McQuigg, an independent, self-employing pedagogue. His was a veritable "normal school" for several counties long before the State of New York opened hers at Albany.

4. It follows from the foregoing that the people should delegate to boards, superintendents and other officers the least power and authority consistent with efficiency, and reserve to themselves individually the largest liberty and opportunities consistent with the general good. The schools must not go *into* the hands of officials and *out of* the hands of the people.

5. Any orderly organization of schools will recognize and conform to the natural epochs of education corresponding to childhood, youth and

early manhood. Each of these periods has its peculiar wants, objects, methods and discipline. The child is to be trained, the youth instructed, the man informed. In all those countries in which education has been organized these three stages have been carefully distinguished, and they are habitually designated by the writers on education by the terms, *primary, secondary* and *superior.*

I have endeavored to show the injurious consequences which have followed the confounding of the secondary and superior educations in this country. The remedy for these must begin with a wise and liberal but exhaustive organization of education. This alone can, in my opinion, disentangle existing complications, harmonize opposing interests, and unite all agencies.

THE MINNESOTA PLAN: LOCAL CONDITIONS.

It may not be uninteresting to those present to attend to a short sketch of an institution of learning, which has been planned and for some time conducted with reference to the principles just treated of. I refer to the University of Minnesota, located in this city, in which I have been for some time employed. The nominal existence of this institution dates back to 1851, but the first actual scholastic work was begun in October, 1867. Two years later a faculty was made up and college work entered upon. In

July, 1871, the present plan of organization replaced a provisional one previously in operation.

It will be proper and orderly to state first, the conditions of the problem which at that time presented itself. The first and fundamental one was, that the people of Minnesota from the earliest moment in her history were committed to a system of public education not confined to the primary field, but embracing potentially the whole secular culture. The Congress which organized the Territorial government at the same time that it secured to the people a common school fund of magnificent proportions, bestowed a liberal endowment for a university. Unfortunately no such provision was made for public secondary schools, or for normal schools. I trust our liberal and enterprising people will yet and soon set apart some adequate endowment for these institutions.

The policy of granting state aid to high schools has been established in Minnesota, as above related.

The resolution of the people to build up a single comprehensive system of public instruction was again manifested upon the framing and adoption of the Constitution in 1857-8. That instrument confirmed the previous legislation relating to the University, and declared the same to be "THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA."

From the language of the Constitution, and all the laws relating to this subject, it is apparent that the intention was, that this institution, designed to form the culminating member of the educational structure, should be ONE,—without a peer within the system.

A further proof of this intention must be seen in the circumstance that the legislature of 1868 virtually added to the University endowment the State's share of the national land grant of 1862, for the benefit of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, and merged the Agricultural College previously established elsewhere, with a similar department embraced in the original charter of the Territorial University. By virtue of this act the University became the people's chosen place and agency for conducting the professional education, not merely in the so-called "learned professions," but in the "industrial professions," as they may now well be called. The charter, while specifying certain great leading departments, places no limits to the organization of new and additional ones.

There were then these data—a general system of public instruction, comprehensive in spirit, defective in organization and development—at its head the University, or rather the project of a University, as yet without competitors, having a liberal endowment in prospect, free to develop in any direction, but especially bounden to prose-

cute certain lines of work in fulfillment of its trust. I refer to that education contemplated by the Act of Congress of 1862, already mentioned.

One other consideration must not be omitted. A flourishing preparatory department had been in existence since 1867. Beyond this the work had extended but a single year. Whether it was good policy or bad policy to begin with this secondary work it was not worth while then, nor is it now, to argue. There it was, in progress. One thing is clear, that if the institution was to do anything in those years, she must do such work. There was no other. There were not, in 1871, six schools, public or private, in the whole state, fitting students to enter college. Such was the "situation" when the problem of the permament organization of the institution demanded solution.

There were few things to oppose, and there were very many circumstances which seemed to invite an attempt to organize according to principles rather than according to the prevailing fashion.

MINNESOTA PLAN IN DETAIL.

Accordingly, the first step was taken by forming a department of secondary instruction of wider range than customary. This was accomplished by throwing the usual work of freshmen and sophomores out of the proper University courses, and merging it into the old preparatory

department to form the department of Elementary Instruction authorized by the charter. While the account just given of merging the work of the first two college years into the secondary department serves well for a rough description, it needs explanation. The object aimed at was not to divide the secondary and superior education upon any arbitrary line, but as nearly as possible upon their natural and theoretical boundary, reference being constantly had to the actual and the practical. This division therefore implies, and to some extent necessitates an *assortment of studies,* throwing back into the secondary, or training department, some elementary subjects, which, of late years, had been wedged into the upper classes of many colleges, because they must go somewhere. Such are the elements of the natural and physical sciences: geology, botany, zoology, physics and chemistry, by which the upper classmen of colleges have for many years been amused. At the same time, this assortment has thrown forward a few subjects, more suitable to students of riper age and development.

It is remarkable, however, how nearly the theoretical boundary between the secondary and superior education in America falls upon that line which divides the upper and lower classes of our best colleges. This twofold division of work and also of methods, is one which every college officer and every college faculty *feels,* and one

which is emphatically recognized by the undergraduates.

The close of the sophomore year, sometimes celebrated by a biennial examination, is a well-marked era in American college life. Grammar-drill, paradigms, construing, blackboard drudgery are over; a new field of humanizing, literary and reflective subjects opens. At this point the optional studies, if they can be afforded, come in to vary the old and dull routine. Thus even the most conservative colleges recognize the consummation of a former epoch, and the opening of a new one.

If we turn to the colleges or universities of later growth, which in response to modern demands have added new courses of study unknown to Busby and Dr. Johnson, we observe this same dividing line extended and emphasized. If the institution is polytechnic only, we find its several courses of study identical in form and substance, or nearly so, for the first two years, and then branching away, each to its special work. If there are both literary and scientific courses, we have two sets, each having its elements substantially coincident up to the end of the second year, and further, the two sets dovetailing into one another all along. The examples are too numerous and conspicuous to need mention. The conclusion is, that the American universities, colleges and polytechnic schools, find them-

selves doing two kinds of work which they are obliged to divide by a strong line. It is the characteristic of the earlier moiety that it is indivisible (except as intimated) and essential to all students. The studies are for drill and discipline, and form part of the indispensable foundation on which to build the higher culture. They belong, of their nature, to the secondary period, and to that place our Minnesota plan relegates them.

While American experience formed the guide and principle of the arrangement under discussion, that of foreign countries, in which education has been authoritatively organized could not be left out of account. The new secondary department will be found to correspond in *location, in object,* and in *scope,* with the gymnasia and real schools of Germany and the lyceums of France and Switzerland. Upon this point I am happy in having the conclusive testimony of President McCosh, as given in a paper having no reference to this institution. Speaking from personal observation, under circumstances the most favorable for getting at the facts, Dr. McCosh says: "The course of instruction in the gymnasia and real schools * * * embraces not only the branches taught in our high schools, but those taught in the freshmen and sophomore classes of our university courses." My own observation not long before, brought me to the same conclusion in substance. Thus, while undertaking to

open a new path, we are still keeping on the safe ground of home and foreign precedent and experience.

I desire to say, however, that should any question be raised as to whether we have, as a fact, drawn our division line through the exactly proper point, we should make no strenuous defense. Our first aim was to segregate the epochs of the secondary and superior education; the second, to do it upon some practicable line. We may have struck a trifle too high or too low, but are probably not far from the permanent boundary.

The next step in the solution of the organization problem, was the formation of such of the "COLLEGES" called for in the statute as could be put into actual operation. Law and medicine were, of necessity, indefinitely postponed. There remained the literary department and those of agriculture and the mechanic arts. Each of these, starting from the common foundation of the secondary department, extends over a period of two years, leading to baccalaureate degrees.

These degrees are therefore reached at the same point as in the most reputable American colleges—not sooner, for the standard is low enough at best—not later, because the baccalaureate is a *first* degree, and has a traditional place and value. It is intended to continue conferring this degree at about the customary point and to develop the various courses by adding post-graduate work,

rather than by interpolating new studies into the undergraduate courses, already overcrowded. The extension of these colleges then onto post-graduate ground is a part of the general plan, to be developed as time and means may allow. In regard to degrees, the earliest announcement of this scheme contained the statement, "No degrees except after successful examination." It is, therefore, my belief that this institution was the first of the northern colleges which proclaimed formally the abolition of honorary degrees.

The third step in our enterprise was, after having separated our superior and secondary work, to provide for getting rid of the latter, in order to use our resources for the development of the proper University work. The legislature of 1872, in amending the charter authorized the Board of Regents to dispense with the department of elementary instruction, so fast as to them might seem proper. Accordingly one year (the old first preparatory year,) has already been dropped; another, the old second preparatory class, will disappear at the close of the academic year about to open. There will then remain upon our hands the sophomore, freshman and sub-freshman classes. It is part of our plan to drop successively all these as fast as may be prudent and feasible.

MINNESOTA PLAN: ASSUMED ADVANTAGES.

Passing now to a brief consideration of the advantages of our organization, two questions

present themselves: (1) How does the secondary department work as a temporary element of the university? and (2) what will be gained when the university shall at length be rid of it?

After an experience of four years I am able to say that the plan works well. The assortment of studies, already referred to, was effected with less difficulty than might have been expected. A corresponding adjustment of methods and discipline has proved itself useful and advantageous. As appropriate to the period of training, a stricter regimen is enforced in the secondary department, while university students are allowed a large degree of that "academic freedom," suitable to their enlarged experience, and appropriate to their age and rank. The collegiate students are required to attend the Chapel exercises; university students are under no compulsion, unless appointed to perform some public exercise. In the secondary department a very strict account of absentees is kept, and punctual attendance, and preparation, are rigorously enforced. The university student accounts to his professors for absences, the only rule for their joint direction being that a certain number (5) of unnecessary absences debars a student from examination. The young men of the secondary department only are required to perform the military exercises, which, by virtue of the act of 1862, we are obligated to practice. In the superior departments, or col-

leges, the instruction is extensively, though not exclusively given by lectures, while in the secondary department daily recitations interspersed with frequent oral and written examinations, are the rule. To experienced students, who have been trained to investigate subjects, and to verify references, the lecture system is exceedingly useful and economical; for young people still needing to parse and to cipher, it is altogether out of place.

Our experience leads us to expect that this division of the two periods of the higher education will solve, for ourselves at least, the most serious problem connected with American college discipline, one which grows out of the fact that those institutions are doing two kinds of work. The original theory of college discipline was that the students were actually living together under the fatherly care and surveillance of the faculty, the president in particular standing *in loco parentis*. The youth were supposed to be in training, "under tutors and governors." Of late years the young men have been going abroad to study in France, Germany and England. Your freshman, perhaps, has wintered in Rome and Athens, and knows the Aventine and the Acropolis better than his professor knows West Rock or Bunker Hill. These gentlemen have imported that fashion of "academic freedom" so dear to the German Burschen, and the Oxford or Cambridge athlete. Now this "academic freedom," good

enough, it may be, in and for the ancient universities of Europe, which are altogether universities, has invaded, and in some cases almost captured, the American college, which is only half a university. It is our hope in Minnesota, under a new régime, to tolerate this freedom so far as is reasonable, and where it properly belongs, without allowing it to enter where it can only be distracting and mischievous.

The operation of this system within the limits of the university is, however, a matter of small moment compared with its intended effect upon the general system of public education in Minnesota.

This plan implies and calls for the upbuilding in the state, of a class of high schools of more generous scope than have been generally contemplated. One thing which has retarded the development of these schools in the new states is, the fact that they have had no definite place in the system of instruction. They have, therefore, been built up to their present proportions outside of the system. What the high school needs is place and room. It must have its appropriate work and the whole of it. Much opposition would be silenced if those who oppose the support of high schools out of the public funds, could see the nature and scope of its instruction clearly understood and acknowledged by educational men. With the common school stretching up and the

college stretching down, it is difficult for the unprofessional to see distinctly that any certain distance lies between them. It will be impossible, permanently, to enlist as conductors of the high schools, teachers of scholarship and enterprise so long as they are restricted to a narrow and uninviting field. There can be little enthusiasm in doing half-and-half work. It is poor encouragement to a teacher who has carried a pupil to quadratics, to give him over at that point to the college tutor. It is merely aggravating to stop at the close of a fifth book of geometry, because the college claims the remaining ones as its province. He can see no reason why the boy who has read two books of Homer, must read no more till he has been booked a freshman. And there is no reason, beyond a mere fashion. The work of the first two years of the college is the work of the secondary school, and there it can be done most efficiently and economically. Turn this work over to the high school, and that institution has at once its function, and the whole of it. Its teachers will stand on independent ground, and will gladly devote themselves for life to a high, noble and inspiring calling. The history of the American academies is interesting as showing how impossible it has been to keep them down to the work of fitting boys for entering a freshman class. They have almost invariably extended their work in some lines far beyond that point. The well-

known researches of President Barnard into the condition of the New York academies, show, that out of a total of 4,500 pupils, 2,287 were pursuing college studies, and 900 of that number the studies of upper class-men. The high school, however, cannot be that pliant, flexible instrument which the academy has most happily been. It must have its well-defined field and work. Now, as to the question of feasibility, the answer is, that this extension of the high school has, in many places, already taken place. The high schools of Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and of many other cities, have already advanced their courses quite up to the upper limit of the secondary stage. A great many high schools are advancing on the same line. Even in our own young state, we have several high schools which are giving a considerable part of that additional instruction which they are asked by the Minnesota plan to assume,—and what is more, some of our Minnesota high schools are proposing to carry some studies belonging not to the earlier, but to the later, years of the ordinary college course.

It cannot be necessary to make an argument to show that the high school cannot economically give instruction in such higher college, or more properly, university studies. All will concede that there is no time, no suitable means and equipment, no adequate preparation of the scholars

for such instruction. An organization upon general, scientific principles is needed not only to give the secondary schools their true place and full scope, but to constrain them from desultory and seductive incursions into fields not their own.

It is, therefore, already feasible in many places to give the high school its full and appropriate range. It will soon become so in many more places, and we may, without extravagant expectation, look forward to a time when our state shall boast of its thirty or forty great high schools, officered by teachers of eminent scholarship devoted to a work worthy any man's "dearest action" and ambition. These schools can do the secondary work economically. No extensive and costly equipment of laboratories, museums or libraries is necessary. The essential means of illustration they can possess. They have, or may have, the buildings and the teachers. Our high school principals are now generally college graduates, fully competent to oversee and to impart the additional instruction which our scheme implies. I know they would be more than willing to enter upon this advanced work, which is, in its nature, merely an extension of that already in their hands, and which they are forced by the present fashion to surrender just when the up-hill tug of the course is over.

The economy of the plan, however, becomes more apparent if we regard the interest of the

youth needing and desiring the higher education, and that of the parents and friends who are to pay the expenses. This plan will bring the education essential to that vast body of people who are employers and directors to their very doors. Such high schools as we contemplate might indeed be called the "people's colleges," and they would be for America what Dr. Hoyt declares the German secondary schools—the Gymnasia and the Real schools to be—"the pride and glory of the German people." A few feeble colleges, an isolated university, cannot educate the people. They can only inform and equip a few leaders. If we mean to educate the people beyond those rudiments essential to the bare existence of men in civilized states; if we mean to give to a great number of them that directive power which the primary instruction cannot give, we must build up the secondary schools. The economy of bringing these institutions within reach of youth residing at their homes is too obvious for comment; but there is still a higher economy, of more account than any pecuniary savings.

The American college is no place for boys, and yet in a vast number of instances, mere striplings have to be sent to college at a time when it is the next thing to ruin to send them from the home circle and the parental care. It is now a common thing for a college executive to be asked by a father, "What shall I do with my son? He is

ready to enter college, but he is a mere child in age and experience. He ought not to be sent from home." The genuine "normal" secondary school will solve this question. The boy will remain safe beneath the sheltering influence of home, and go on under his old teacher with those studies which he has so successfully and so ardently pursued. Having tarried at Jericho till his beard has grown, he may then go up to Jerusalem—to his educational Zion—the university.

By the mere force of old habit, we speak of *boys* as the *materiel* of our professional activity. This fashion is out of date. The higher education is no longer of the masculine gender; it is *epicene*. Our friends at the East may still worry and contend over the admission of women to this education. In the West that question has long since been settled. When asked, as I sometimes am, "When were women first admitted to your University of Minnesota?" my reply is, "Never. They were never excluded." They came at the beginning and took their places as a matter of course. I wish to remark of this question of the higher education of women, that all there has been, for many years, of it anywhere is, "Shall women be admitted to men's colleges?" No one has denied the higher education to women, at least no one who has any right to be heard. Now, the chief difficulty which presents itself is mainly one of mere boarding and maintenance. There

is no trouble about the instruction of boys and girls in the same classes. Place these collegiate high schools in a hundred cities and villages, and the difficulty mentioned mostly disappears. The girls can live at home, going and coming from its safe harbor to the class room. Thus the "*mixed education*" which is now distressing—and with reason—so many minds, will become a very simple problem. The grown woman may with safety and profit resort to the university, if she desires the culture of the university; and thus is removed the temptation felt in many quarters to attenuate or dilute the university courses in order to render them more acceptable and accessible to the "weaker vessels." The university must not be reduced to the status and condition of the female seminary.

A further motive for adopting a novel university organization was the desire to contribute to the elevation of the professional schools and schooling in Minnesota and elsewhere. I do not need to expose the acknowledged infamy of most of these schools, which make a business of working up school boys into lawyers and physicians—so read their diplomas—in fewer weeks than it used to take to cipher through Daboll's arithmetic. It is a fact that law and medical colleges in neighboring States have taken young men from our preparatory classes and sent them back to us with broad and fair graduation parchments much

sooner than we could have made freshmen of them. The better men in these learned professions are not blind to this abomination, and they see clearly the source and fountain of it, in those professional schools which are supported by the fees collected from students. I see no remedy which can be used by those schools, as a class. All honor to the few who have already made a beginning of moderation. Harvard, Michigan and Chicago no longer admit without inspection every candidate who may drift to their doors. There will, however, be no thorough and permanent cure until some public, endowed institution, not depending on students' fees for its existence and continuance, shall set up and steadfastly hold to a high standard of requisites for admission; organize and carry out orderly, graded courses of study; and graduate no man who shall not have completed the prescribed work with fidelity and thoroughness. This reform we propose, in Minnesota, to inaugurate and carry through, so far as our own state is concerned. It is part of our university scheme that no person shall be admitted to a professional school as a candidate for a degree who shall not have successfully prosecuted and completed a secondary course of studies. We fix this as a *minimum* of qualification, believing this preparation to be sufficient for the majority of professional men—men who are content to be *practitioners* merely, and do not aspire

—as few men do—to become original investigators, authors, savants. The few who do so aspire must needs devote additional years to a course of philosophical, literary and higher scientific studies. For all such we offer the appropriate opportunities in our "College of Science, Literature, and the Arts."

We do not, however, stop with the colleges devoted to training men for the learned professions. We propose to raise the agricultural and polytechnic schools to the same high plane. In regard to the courses in engineering, civil and mechanical, we propose no innovation, but merely to follow out the established custom of American polytechnic schools. As already shown, these institutions give the first two years of the course to general, disciplinary—secondary studies; the last two, to professional work proper. In our institution, the engineering student passes from the Secondary Department and enters the College of Mechanic Arts at the beginning of the junior year. He pursues the customary studies for two years, and is graduated at the end of that time a *Bachelor* only.

It is in reference to the agricultural college that we may be said to be taking a new departure. It has generally been thought politic, if not necessary, by those who have been charged with the organization of the agricultural colleges in America, to begin the work at the low water

mark of the common school. As a matter of course, no professional work worthy of the name can be taken up at that point. The necessary consequence is, that the college must put the matriculants upon a course of general studies in mathematics, sciences and languages. Thus it comes that we have freshmen in colleges employed upon higher arithmetic, penmanship, punctuation, and other indispensable rudiments. So soon as possible the fare is varied by dashing in a modicum of agriculture or horticulture. Time passes on, and at the close of a four-years' course, the young men are returned to the farms as *Bachelors* of agriculture. I would not condemn this work altogether, though I think it extravagant and distracting to mingle studies so unlike and incompatible. It is useless and extravagant—it is absurd—to undertake the application of science to agriculture before the science —the *appliable* science—has been acquired. The agricultural colleges referred to, cannot, therefore, become, as they ought to become, professional schools, so long as they are engaged in doing training work in the general studies of the high school. According to the principle implied in this discussion, the institution of which I am speaking bases the regular undergraduate course in agriculture upon the secondary instruction of the Elementary Department. All candidates for graduation must have undergone this instruc-

tion here or elsewhere. After two years of professional studies and exercises, we think them entitled to a degree in every way equivalent to the *first academical* degree of bachelor.

Thus we conform, as we believe, to that act of Congress which conferred the endowment for the new industrial education. This statute calls for the establishment of *colleges*,—i. e., institutions of superior rank. The endowment cannot be justly expended in mere primary and secondary instruction.

We also respond to the real demand of the farmers. The Agricultural College was never wanted as a mere farmers' school, in which their sons and daughters could be taught to extract the cube root and decline adjectives of three terminations. The real demand of the farmer is that there be men trained up to *interrogate science*, as to its application to that great industry which is at the bottom of all the industries and activities of the world.

When the Agricultural College is made a professional school, this work may begin. The Agricultural College as a secondary school, however efficient, can contribute but scantily to this end.

It seemed best to let the reader follow the description of the Minnesota plan to its end. It was adopted hastily and prematurely by a body of inexperienced regents reposing undue confidence in a youthful executive whose enthusiasm affected them.

He was himself as much surprised as any one could be at their sudden action. The most he had hoped for was the opening of a discussion. He had not moderation nor wisdom enough to counsel delay and consultation with colleagues. The faculty were divided; the professors on the "classical side" were opposed to innovation, those on the "scientific side" were warmly favorable to the plan.

In 1872 in response to demands the regents gave the matter a full consideration. The members of the faculty contributed their respective views in writing; the author of the plan defended it from a brief to be found on a subsequent page. The result was a resolution to adhere to the plan; and it was adhered to for more than a decade. Thanks to a faculty loyal if not cordial in its support, no difficulties of administration presented themselves which were not easily overcome. Still it must be said, there existed a "feeling" shared by some teachers, some students, and some school men that the University of Minnesota, had by the adoption of a novel scheme of organization separated herself from the goodly fellowship of American colleges. That the old American aggregation (there was no system,) of schools and colleges could be improved upon, was not easily entertained by those who had not studied the principles of educational organization, in particular of public education. The believers in the plan were therefore kept on the defensive.

Dr. Cyrus Northrop succeeded to the presidency of the university in September 1884. In June 1885, the regents upon his recommendation, by a simple resolution regulating the jurisdiction of faculties, gave the Minnesota plan a quiet and comfortable coup de grace. He had other objects more at heart than reforms in university organization, and felt

that it would be better to let the institution develop along traditional lines. The author of the plan was quite content that it should not be left in the hands of those not in sympathy with its idea and purpose. The principle survives and in good time will have its fruition. The University of Chicago has explicitly recognized it, and Columbia has implicitly adopted it.

It was laid down in the introductory part of this paper, as a principle to be gone upon in organizing the public instruction, that the system must be such as to employ and encourage all agencies likely to engage seriously in the work. By what means, if by any, to open the whole field of educational effort to the same free competition between individuals as now exists in the learned and other professions, is an alluring problem, but because it is not of immediate practical importance it must be laid aside for the graver and unavoidable question, "Where is the place and what the work of the Christian Church in education?" Let us meet this question resolutely. Let us face first of all this *fact*, that in the newer states of America education of all grades is *already* public. The people have taken the whole work in hand. It is impossible to disguise this fact. It is equally impossible to escape from this next conclusion—that if the Church means to do any work in education which will last and grow, she must come within the system

of public instruction. The institutions of her foundation and maintenance must take their place as elements in whatever system may happen to exist. What part of the field then may the Christian forces occupy in the grand movement? Not the primary theater of the war. Experience has already decided that; and further, this is the place for parental co-operation. Not the field of superior, academical and professional education, for that too the people have occupied with a corps of observation—if no more. There remains but one province, the secondary education. May the Church venture upon that? It is certain that in her present estate the Church cannot sustain the university. It is useless to talk of the university unless there is a prospect of millions of dollars flowing into her coffers. Were the Church one in visible representation, this might be expected, but divided and contending, her various sections vainly attempt the mighty task of collecting a university endowment. This I may say while recalling, not without bitterness, the fact that we have yet as a people to educate ourselves up to the point reached by some Christian benefactors of higher education. The people have resolved to have the university, but they have not as yet fully appreciated the magnitude of their enterprise nor equalled in munificence a few noble citizens.

If, however, a Church were equal to the maintenance of the university, I cannot see that she has any sufficient motive for it. The history of American universities shows that just as they have grown into consequence they have outgrown the spirit of denomination. The Christian college of to-day is forced to hoist at its maintop the motto "Christian, but not sectarian." If not sectarian, why then shall the sect support it? "Christian, but not sectarian," is the watchword of the people's university. The work of the university is secular, and cannot be Church work. It can only aid the Church—as Church—in an indirect way, by extending the boundaries of knowledge, diffusing culture, and arming the hand of charity with new balms and potions. Why then should the tithes and offerings go to the cultivation of science and letters, to the training of lawyers and physicians, farmers and engineers? When a thousand villages are without churches and pastors, shall the Church found observatories to study spots on the sun, and millions of men perish without the gospel?

There is, however, in the scope of the secondary education a work which may be regarded as distinctively Christian, I have, with some emphasis, advocated the full development of the secondary education for the purpose of bringing that instruction to the doors of the people, and into close relation with homes. Two practical

difficulties here present themselves. The first, that there is a large body of youth who have literally no homes,—there are many who are worse off than that,—who have fathers and mothers, but no parents. There are also sons and daughters of persons holding public offices, military and civil, the duties of which carry them to stations remote from schools and civilization; there are children of persons traveling or living transiently in public houses. The number of children thus incapacitated from resorting to the public high schools from homes, will be found upon reflection to be very great. For this class the boarding school is the proper resource. What work now I ask can the Church better do than to throw her sheltering arms around these homeless ones, and train them up to useful and blameless living? There is room then in the system for the Christian boarding school. I cannot pass from this topic without stopping to advertise to this national convention of teachers that our State of Minnesota presents to-day the unique and unparalleled spectacle of the best boys' boarding school in the northwest, built up in nine years on the ruins of a paper university. Let me say *proposed ruins,* for that university—thanks to one wise and far-seeing man—never lifted the first stone into daylight.

When Henry Benjamin Whipple came to Faribault in 1859 to begin his work as Bishop of Minnesota, he found a little wooden "shack," in which a little primary school was kept. Over the door was a smart gilded sign "Bishop Seabury University." One of his first acts was to take a carpenter's hammer and pull down that sign. His wiser plan, which he presently put into operation, was to build and organize a splendid academy, in which he could proselyte to his heart's content. In a university he could not freely make Episcopalians.

The other difficulty had in mind is this, that the high school of any grade of development is possible only in the cities and larger villages. There are fifty smaller villages, more or less, in Minnesota, which cannot support a high school in fifty years. How shall these places, the most favorable perhaps for the development of scholarly ambition, be supplied with secondary schools? The answer is, by means of academies, to be mainly supported by the people of the vicinity, but aided liberally by the state. Such academies, public in the sense of complying with the conditions necessary to insure the just expenditure of the public funds, would habitually fall under the control of some Christian body, who would be responsible to the patrons for the judicious training of their children. The Christian academy may thus have its place in the system of public instruction. There is one such in our own state, scarcely known beyond the bounds of

a beautiful hamlet nestling beside Lake St. Croix, which sends more students to this University than any high school in the state except three or four. The Christian academy can do that work which most of all the Church wants done, the work of training the growing and impressible youth. The time for training is past when the youth has gone to college. Happy is that young man who leaves school with his principles and habits so fixed and grounded that the temptations of college life assail his soul in vain.

The admirable little academy at Afton on the St. Croix was closed some years ago. It is still the speaker's opinion that academies of high rank are needed, and may properly be countenanced and aided by religious bodies. No better examples are needed of the usefulness of such schools than the Pillsbury Academy at Owatonna, the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, and Shattuck School at Faribault.

The hour will not permit me to speak of a third sort of Christian work in education—that of establishing Christian college homes around the State universities, and thus to restore the college to its original function. In such establishments a church may gather its sons and daughters, maintain its favorite cultus and ritual, and thus gain to herself all the advantages of a college in the modern sense, while saving the whole cost of faculty, library, apparatus, laboratories, etc.

This idea was put into operation at the University of Michigan some years after. Harris hall has served its purpose with great acceptance. Roman Catholic friends have acquired a plot of ground near the University of Minnesota on which it is purposed to build a home for the accommodation of students of that ancient faith. The Episcopalians have established a "University House" with a clergyman in charge, as a center of influence and co-operation.

I have said that the boarding school and the academy may be Christian, meaning Christian in the lower sense of being actually in the hands of a Christian body, as a corporation. There is, however, a higher sense in which these and all schools may be Christian. There are many schools, of many grades, which are Christian because they are owned and operated by Christian men and women, but are not controlled by any conference, synod or council. In this same sense, all schools may be Christian. If the Church do her duty there will be no other. The schools of a Christian people will be Christian. The Church might be more than content to surrender entirely any immediate management of schools in order to be at leisure to attend to the grander work of molding and inspiring all the educational agencies. The Church may then lay down the text-book, and retire from the school-room, as pedagogue, only to reappear in the clouds of a new heaven, with angelic belongings, "with

power and great glory," a messenger from above to inform, to hallow, to sanctify and consecrate all the agencies of human culture.

It took more than two hundred years for modern Christianity to learn the lesson that her power over the nation would be greatest when Church and State should be organically severed. Have we not yet to learn the further and more blessed truth that the Church will only then be mightiest in culture, when she has surrendered all mere schooling to the people?

APPENDIXES TO THE FOREGOING ADDRESS.

APPENDIX I.

In 1872 the Board of Regents deemed it wise to review their action in adopting the Minnesota plan. The following brief was used by President Folwell in its defense. The decision was to adhere to the plan.

I.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS had in view at the time the the question of organization came up.

1. The great awakening to the supreme importance of education in general. Witness, the development of the free schools, the munificent gifts in the aid of education, of Cornell, Peabody, Pardee, Packer, Williston and others, and the State and National grants to higher institutions.

2. An immense increase of youth demanding higher education:—not, however, of those looking forward to the so-called "learned professions," but a number much greater preparing to be engineers, merchants, architects, chemists, miners and metallurgists, pharmaceutists, dyers, manufacturers, merchants, navigators, journalists, naturalists, astronomers, and last, not least, horticulturists and agriculturists; wherefore,

3. The general consent that the old college, however admirably suited to other wants, does not meet the de-

mands of these classes. In proof of the correctness of this view,

4. The establishment of numerous polytechnic schools, such as, e. g.,

The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y.

The Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College, New Haven, Conn.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

The Columbia College School of Mines, New York city.

The Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, N. J., &c.

Likewise

5. The grant by Congress in 1862 of 9,000,000 acres of public lands to endow colleges, intended to provide "liberal and practical education for the industrial classes"; and under this grant the establishment of Agricultural and Polytechnic Colleges in many States; such as, e. g.,

The Cornell University,

The Kentucky University,

The Illinois Industrial University,

The Agricultural Colleges of Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, &c.,—but further,

6. The voluntary exile of hundreds of our young men to foreign countries in search of culture not to be had on this side of the Atlantic.

7. The importation, chiefly by these persons and through their writings, of foreign university ideas, traditions, customs and terminology, which, falling in with the general sentiment favoring a broader development of our higher education, had led to

8. The establishment of many institutions called *Universities*, in expectation "of things hoped for."

9. The general acknowledged failure of our universities *to deserve that title*, owing chiefly to lack of material, i. e., of students properly fitted for university work. Therefore,

10. The need, as a condition precedent to the existence of a genuine university, of a large number of academic schools of high rank, capable of fitting students to enter upon the studies properly belonging to the university. Such schools, called "secondary," exist in all countries in which universities exist.

11. An EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF COLLEGES, insufficiently endowed, indifferently officered, scantily attended, "hindering rather than aiding one another by their jealous rivalries, and wasting the most precious resources of the country."

12 In these colleges a general breaking down of discipline, and a cheapening of degrees, things not to be prevented in institutions demoralized by ruinous competition.

13. In these colleges also, an overloading of the course of study in the attempt to adapt the college, with its single curriculum, to modern demands. But

14. A strong and decided reaction against the tendency to overcrowd the college course, coinciding with

15. A relaxation from the traditional custom of forcing students over a single course, as shown in

16. The addition of so-called *"scientific courses"* of study into many colleges and universities, or in

17. The introduction of so-called *optional* or *elective* studies and courses of study: in connection with which

18. The remarkable fact that the end of the second (or Sophomore) year of the old college course has been very generally pitched upon as the proper point at which to admit optional studies and courses, thereby indicating that

19. *Some* university work proper begins *now* in America (and will for a long time continue to begin) with the Junior year, and that *studies should be assorted accordingly.* Wherefore

20. Universities must provide for dropping the work of the first two college years, belonging by its nature to the secondary schools.

21. The higher secondary education embracing the first two college years, has been found to be an excellent preparation for the "industrial professions," and it is also sufficient for the mere *practitioner* in the so-called learned professions, although in fact

22. The law and medical schools, receiving students with merely the primary education of the common school, are turning out under the spur of sharp competition hundreds of graduates every year, without culture, without science—to the great infamy of the professions. Wherefore

23. The impending necessity that some public endowed institution not depending upon tuition money for support, should by requiring as the *minimum preparation* the *secondary* education indicated, rescue the legal and medical professions from the low condition into which they have confessedly fallen.

24. For lack of suitable secondary or academic schools to prepare students, the agricultural colleges have very generally been forced down into the secondary field, and been obliged to offer courses of study made up mainly of academic branches with merely a *seasoning* of agricultural studies. Whereas

25. The agricultural college ought to be a special professional school, analagous to law, medical, and engineering schools, to which students shall bring a sufficient preparation of general and disciplinary studies, and it is *only* as *such* that the agricultural college can form a co-ordinate department of the *university*.

26. The actual foundation and maintenance of universities by *States* is an experiment, the success of which is not expected by some, and not desired by many others.

27. The Christian Church,—under various denominations,—has immense investments in higher education, and under her auspices.

28. Private individuals and corporate bodies will continue to endow and support educational establishments. Nevertheless there exists

29. A powerful tendency in the direction of comprehensive, not to say exclusive, state and national effort to control education and to develop complete systems of schools culminating in universities. Wherefore,

30. The evident need of such an *organization of education* by competent authority as will invite and ensure the co-operation of all parties interested in the business, and secure economy and efficiency; accordingly

31. The State University should be so organized as to form an integral part of a State system of public education, while free scope and room should be allowed for the legitimate efforts of all private and corporate agencies.

32. The higher education of women,—a problem

not to be put aside when public funds form the endowment of a proposed university.

II.

LOCAL CONSIDERATIONS: State of Minnesota, A. D. 1870.

1. An act of the Legislature approved February 18, 1868, "Re-organizing the University and establishing an Agricultural College therein."—

2. The Board of Regents required by this act to establish *"five or more Colleges* or *Departments;* that is to say,

"A Department of Elementary Instruction;
"A College of Science, Literature and the Arts;
"A College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts;
"A College or Department of Law;
"A College or Department of Medicine."

3. An endowment of public lands, consisting on the one hand of University lands proper and on the other of "Agricultural College" lands in the proportion of about 3 to 5.

4. An evident and undoubted disposition on the part of the Board of Regents to devote the funds to accrue from the Agricultuural College lands with the utmost fidelity to the object named in the act of endowment passed by Congress, July 2, 1862. As an earnest of this disposition,

5. The purchase of a farm for experimental purposes and the election of professors of agriculture, military science and civil engineering.

6. A provisional organization, in some respects excellent, but lacking in thoroughness—the various departments forming rather a mere association than an organism. Indeed the separate establishment of the colleges or departments demanded by the statute was quite lost sight of.

7. FREE TUITION in all departments; small annual charge for "incidentals" only.

8. No dormitory system, but students of both sexes left free to choose their residences in the city.

9. A faculty of ten persons, including the president.

10. An attendance of 185 students—about one-half of them young women.

11. Thirteen students, ranking provisionally as

Freshmen, of whom probably but five were of that rank.

12. A large number of students looking forward to polytechnic studies, a great demand for instruction in the German language, and an unexpectedly large number of classical students.

13. But one denominational college, partially developed, in actual existence in the State.

14. A very small number of fitting schools (3-5) in private or denominational hands and all young and feeble.

15. A considerable number of excellent public high schools, ably officered and ready to co-operate actively with the University, but as yet not having generally adopted courses of study preparatory to it. Hence

16. The evident necessity of so planning the work of the University as to begin where the high schools should leave off.

Such was "THE SITUATION" when in June, 1870, the question of organization came definitely before the Board of Regents.

III.

THE PLAN ACTUALLY ADOPTED was the following, being the report of a special committee:

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

"There shall be established in the University of Minnesota, five or more Colleges or Departments; that is to say, a Department of Elementary Instruction; a College of Science, Literature and the Arts; a College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, including Military Tactics; a College or Department of Law; also a College or Department of Medicine."—[Laws of Minnesota, 1868.]

" * * * to teach such branches of learning as are related to Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, in such manner as the Legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the *liberal* and *practical* education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics."—[Act of Congress granting land for Agricultural Colleges. 1862.]

A three years' preparatory department has been in operation since 1866. Twenty students, most of whom have passed through this Department, are now pursuing the studies of freshmen in science or arts.

It is proposed to drop, as soon as may be practicable, the first year of this preparatory course, and to add to the two remaining years, other two years, correspond-

ing to the freshman and sophomore years of our ordinary colleges, thus forming a department to be called "THE COLLEGIATE DEPARTMENT," of which the prominent features shall be these, viz:

1. Two or more parallel courses of general scientific and classical studies, designed to prepare students either to enter one of the professional schools, or the higher academic course of the University.
2. These courses to be open to both sexes alike.
3. A thorough system of discipline, by means of marking system, military drill, gymnastics, etc.
4. All students to be instructed in those principles of agriculture (including horticulture), the mechanic arts, and hygiene, which every "educated man" or woman needs to know.
5. No degrees to be conferred at the end of these courses, but only a certificate of fitness to proceed with some proper University course.
6. A shorter course of scientific studies for students preparing to enter the colleges of agriculture, medicine, etc.

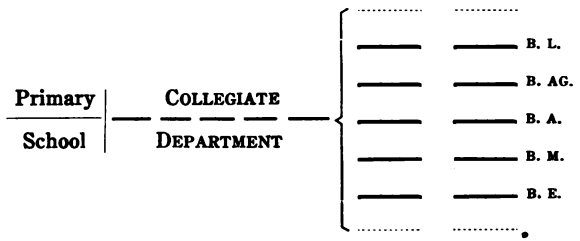
The theory of this Collegiate Department is, that the student having successfully pursued one or other of its prescribed courses, will be suitably prepared to enter the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts," or the College of that profession to which he intends devoting his life. It is too much to ask now, in a new country, that candidates for agriculture, law, medicine, or business, shall generally have taken the degree of bachelor of arts.

It is not thought necessary to enlarge upon the details of the organization of the professional and technical schools, the number and kinds of which must depend upon the means of the University and the public demands. The first of them to be organized will be that of "Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts." The higher academic department will correspond nearly with the junior and senior years of the American colleges, except that there shall be entire academic freedom in the selection of courses. *No degrees* shall be conferred except after successful examinations, and that to some extent upon subjects upon which no direct instruction shall have been given.

It is a part of the plan that from year to year some branch or branches shall be dropped off the lower end

of the Collegiate courses, so that at length, the whole Department having been relegated to the schools below, shall "expire by limitation," leaving the federated classical, scientific and professional schools of the University proper. In fact the Collegiate Department is intended to be a model "Secondary School."

The following diagram will suggest, though inadequately, the relations of the Departments:



The essential features of the plan appear to be:

1. That while offering the old college course and discipline in its best form to the literary and professional classes, the University will provide for the industrial classes that "liberal and practical education" contemplated in the laws which have conferred her endowments.

2. The separation of the natural epochs of secondary and superior education, and the ultimate liberation of the University from the elementary work belonging to the former. Coinciding with this separation, an advantageous assortment of studies, methods and discipline suitable to the two periods respectively. As a further result

3. The simplification of the question of "mixed education."

4. The actual elevation of the professional schools, by requiring of candidates for degrees a *good* general education, as a condition for entrance, while, not insisting in theory on the impossible demand that *all* should have gone over the whole of the old college course.

5. The elevation of the colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts to equal rank and standing with the

law and medical colleges, and the separation of the studies and exercises properly belonging to them, from the elementary branches taught, or which should be taught, in the primary and secondary schools, and which it is not the business of *colleges* to teach.

6. That while proposing to provide instruction on the most liberal scale in all subjects proper to be taught in a genuine university, the institution shall not offer an unlimited "option" of studies, but rather a suitable variety of well-ordered courses of study, leading to appropriate degrees.

7. The total abolition of all honorary degrees.

8. A close and organic connection with the system of public schools, permitting and inviting the co-operation of all private and corporate institutions. *"The University begins, for the time being, wherever the High School leaves off."*

9. That while the main features of the plan may remain unchanged, it admits of great freedom in the arrangement of details to suit varying conditions of times and circumstances.

10. A faithful adherence to the letter and spirit of the laws, state and national, which have established and endowed the University, and which contemplate it as a *federation* of literary, scientific, professional, and technical or industrial *Colleges,* each imparting liberal and practical education.

NOTE.—It is a necessary corollary of this plan of organization, that the University work be extended beyond the baccalaureate graduation, as soon as may be practicable, by the addition of studies or courses of study leading to the master's degree or the doctorate.

APPENDIX 2.

OPINIONS OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN EDUCATORS.

[Received, along with others of similar import, in answer to a printed circular letter issued in February, 1870, setting forth the then proposed plan.]

President Porter and others, of Yale College:—"The undersigned having had their attention called to the proposed organization of the University of Minnesota, as set forth by President Folwell, have been impressed with its adaptation to the wants of a new state, its harmony with the work of other educational institutions in Minnesota, and its just recognition of

the value of literary, scientific and professional culture."

(Signed) NOAH PORTER, President of Yale College,
D. C. GILMAN,
WM. D. WHITNEY,
Professors of Yale College.

The undersigned agree with the foregoing expression of opinion.

(Signed)
JAMES HADLEY, Professor of Greek,
GEORGE F. BARKER, Professor of Chemistry,
WM. H. BREWER, Professor of Agriculture,
THOMAS R. LOUNSBURY, Professor of English.

President Hopkins, of Williams College:—"The general plan seems to me judicious, and I cannot think you will find difficulty in adjusting it to your wants and means as they shall be revealed."

President White, of Cornell University:—"Your plan is interesting, and in view of the peculiarities of your immediate education in the state, seems to be excellent."

President Frieze, of the University of Michigan:—"I sincerely hope that you may be able to realize your plan for the development of a University. I can see no deficiency in it. * * * It is certainly correct in principle; and I am convinced that America will never have a University until some of our institutions adopt a course similar to that you propose."

President Morton, of the Stevens Institute of Technology:—"I can heartily approve of your course."

President Read, of the University of Missouri:—"Your plan meets my entire approval. * * * You have the correct view of agricultural education."

President Angell, of the University of Michigan, says:—"A great point will be gained when we have carried secondary education up to the mark you have set. I cannot but applaud your courage in attempting the experiment in a new state like yours. * * * I do most earnestly wish the highest measure of success to your praiseworthy effort."

President Chadbourne, of the University of Wisconsin:—"Your plan shows that you understand the situation fully, and that your object is to organize the University to meet the present wants of the state, giving it, at the same time, the conditions of growth as new demands are made. * * * I like the plan

because it seems to me to aim at making the University supplement the common schools; and it should not shrink from humble work, while that is necessary on account of the defect of the schools."

Dr. J. M. Gregory, President of the Illinois Industrial University:—"You know I am not an extremist, any more than yourself, and I most heartily approve of your plans, which have for their aim to hold fast all that is good in the past, while you gain all the new good the present offers."

Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., of Harvard University:—"I want to express my sincere and gratified interest in the plan of your University. I think you have placed your elective system just where it ought to stand. Up to the term corresponding to the Sophomore year, the required course will no more than fit a student to make an intelligent and judicious choice, and the whole previous period is needed for studies in which every student ought to be proficient."

Rev. Dr. Wilson, of Cornell University, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy:—"I express my approval of it in general without reserve.* * * * It would enable us to put the first and second year men—preparing for the University courses proper—under a regimen and training such as boys need, and at the same time allow the University men the liberty for which men only are fitted. * * * It would allow us in practice to take advantage of the difference between the recitation and the lecture systems, and to use the former almost exclusively in the preparatory or Collegiate course, and to make the most of the lecture system in the University course where alone it can be used with advantage, and where it is incomparably superior to the recitation system."

Rev. Dr. Kendrick, of the University of Rochester, Professor of Greek: "I am glad to see your young State adopting a plan so comprehensive and liberal. * * * The general plan seems to me unexceptionable and excellent. The thousand questions of detail will have to be settled by experience."

Dr. Asa Gray, of Harvard University, Professor of Botany:—"I can say in general, that your plan seems to me well considered, and we wish you every success."

Dr. E. W. Hilgard, of the University of Mississippi, Professor of Agriculture:—"I have read attentively, and with great satisfaction, the various documents concerning the proposed organization of your University. * * * I cannot omit to express to you, in general, my entire concurrence in your views."

Hon. Wm. T. Harris, Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis, Mo.:—"Your views and plans seem to me to be very catholic and very practical."

Rev. W. W. Washburn, late Principal of the Preparatory Department of the University of Minnesota:—"In your scheme of organization, you have comprehended the actual situation of affairs, and provided for the wants of that new state very fully. You have crystallized and put into admirable form a thought that has often presented itself to my mind, i. e., that the University courses branch at the close of the Sophomore year."

Professor Wm. F. Phelps, Principal of the First State Normal School, Winona:—"I have studied with much interest the courses of study and plan of operations laid down for the University of Minnesota. From these examinations I feel prepared to say that they seem to me to be well considered, judicious, and in harmony with the most enlightened views of Higher Education, as entertained by our best thinkers. Time and experience may make minor changes in details expedient, but on the whole your plans are, I believe, most wisely conceived.

Professor Jas. R. Boise, Department of Greek, University of Chicago:—"You have a noble work before you, and I am glad you understand so well the importance and the nature of your task. Your views appear to me to be enlightened and liberal."

APPENDIX 3.
LATER COMMENDATORY LETTERS.

New York, March 1, 1884.

My dear sir:

Your letter reaches me just as I am returning to England. I wish I could have come to Minneapolis, but in the summer I read in a newspaper an address of yours on University education, and had the pleasure of finding that you took all the points which I most wish to see taken. You are perfectly right in saying that secondary instruction is the weak thing here, and that it is important to mark this off more clearly from the superior instruction. But it seems to me, besides, that your degree-granting bodies are far, far too numerous.

I remain, my dear sir, most truly yours,

Matthew Arnold.

President Folwell.

President's Room, Oct. 16, 1902.

Columbia University in the city of New York,

Dear Mr. Folwell:

I have read with great interest and pleasure your letter of the 15th and the valuable article which accompanies it, and congratulate you on the prescience which led you to hold the views so long ago.

With best wishes, I am cordially yours,

Nicholas Murray Butler.

The University of Chicago,

August 2, 1909.

My dear Dr. Folwell:

I distinctly remember placing in the hands of President Harper the address to which you refer. I cannot recall the phraseology. I remember simply that he expressed high approval and appreciation of the principles involved. My opinion is that your plan was a perfectly sound one. It happened to be ahead of the times, and therefore could not be carried out. It is still somewhat ahead of the times, but I can see many signs of approaching changes which will make it, I believe, at no long distance in the future entirely practicable.

With cordial regards, I am very truly yours,

Harry Pratt Judson.

President D. S. Jordan in World's Work, July, 1908. * * * the most important movement by far is that towards the differentiation of the university from the college, by the removal from the university of the "junior college," the work of the present freshman and sophomore years.

This would at once make the college a support rather than a rival of the university. It would enable the university to throw its whole strength into technical, professional, and research training. It would tend to develop university teachers, men with skill and training for research, while it would at the same time place equal stress on the excellence in teaching ability demanded in the best colleges. It would raise the universities of America to the educational level of the universities of Germany. * * * No institution has yet made this change, but it is an inevitable one, and about five years of discussion and preparation will bring it about. Two years of preparation can be better given in a well-ordered college than in an overswollen university. At the same time the university can do better work in the junior and senior years than the more narrowly equipped colleges can do. * * * Another element in this change will be the release of the university from drill-work and from the details of boy-discipline. * * * The remedy is the revival and rehabilitation of the college, and the reduction in population, with intensification of work, of the great schools called universities. Of these there are about thirty in the United States at present.

III. THE SECULARIZATION OF EDUCATION

The speaker had been president of the University of Minnesota for thirteen years, and had grown weary of hearing the institution publicly denounced as "godless" and "infidel" by prominent ecclesiastics adhering to the traditional belief that the higher education could be safely conducted only under church auspices. He had become convinced that an attitude of silence too long maintained, might be construed into an admission that the state universities had no defense, and resolved upon occasion, to attempt a statement of the grounds upon which those institutions had a right to exist. An opportunity came in the summer of 1882. The president of the National Educational Association invited him to make one of the principal addresses at the annual convention of that year at Saratoga, New York. In the years that have passed the state universities have grown prosperous and powerful, and the Christian religion has not been demolished, nor has society become less orderly, or humane, or devout by reason of their existence. The paper, therefore, may have some interest in educational history.

The development of a system of public universities and colleges in our country within the past half century is a phenomenon surprising to the generation under whose eyes it has taken place.

Without agitation, without pre-arrangement or correspondence it has appeared. As if strewn there by an unseen hand, a whole galaxy of these institutions studs our educational sky from horizon to horizon.

At first thought it would seem that such a reinforcement to the educational power of the country would be welcomed by all; but the fact is, that a considerable proportion of our best citizens look with doubt, not to say disfavor, upon these late intruders into the field of higher education.

These feelings find their expression chiefly through the pulpit and the religious press, in a manner more indicative of outworn prejudice than of confidence in mending matters by sermons and editorials.

Occasionally the discussions are diversified and intensified by an earnestness naturally springing from personal or official interestedness; and under exasperating circumstances honorable and reverend gentlemen permit themselves to speak of state universities and technical colleges as "godless" and "infidel," denouncing them with a degree of vigor bordering on recklessness.

Such denunciations cannot be meant to be taken in their full literal and awful extent, but must be charitably regarded as extravagant and ill-considered utterances of strong convictions under excitement.

Let us endeavor to state what seems to be the general average sentiment of that respectable body of persons who are not yet friendly to public interference in higher education.

"State universities," they say, "existing by virtue of public law cannot be allowed to teach and propagate religion; they cannot be permitted to compel their students to engage in religious exercises against their wills; they may not exhort their students to any distinctively Christian acts or ritual, such as conversion, baptism, the Eucharist; they cannot enjoin any rules of conduct simply and solely because contained in the Bible of Christians. State universities therefore are non-Christian institutions."

Be it granted, still between non-Christian or un-Christian in this mild and quasi-technical sense, and anti-Christian,—openly or clandestinely anti-Christian,—infidel, godless, diabolical,—is the breadth of the whole sky. Justice to honest argument requires, however, that it be said, that these terms have, by an ingenious species of rhetorical thimblerigging been so confused and interfused as to appear synonymous. By such means some of the elect have been deceived; but no cause, however worthy, can long depend on argumentation essentially dishonest, however well meant.

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

I hasten from this painful consideration to

acknowledge the profound respect due to that large body of persons who honestly believe and teach that the college must be distinctively and aggressively Christian, regarding it as a part of the machinery of evangelization, an organ of the denominational propaganda. Their sentiments, their prejudices even, are entitled to sincere respect, when one remembers how constantly their works have confirmed their faith. The colleges are the monuments of their devotion, their sacrifices, and their loyalty. It were folly to abate one jot of the just meed of praise due to the denominational Christian colleges of America and their supporters. For more than two hundred years they held undisturbed and undisputed possession of the field of the higher education in this country. It is not to be wondered at nor complained of that their champions so promptly challenge these late intruders, the state universities, and the national schools of science. It is to be admitted that all innovators, all disturbers of prescriptive trusts and easements must make good their intrusions. It may not be too late to call for the question, "Is there any need of these public institutions, and have they been organized on correct principles?"

Let us face this question with composure and resolution, ready for whatever results a fair and candid inquiry may yield. If there ever was a time when it could be brushed away with an epi-

gram or a question-begging epithet, no candid person will attempt that now. The American people have a common and national interest in the solution of this problem. If these higher public schools are so mischievous and pestilent as many good men have denounced them to be, they ought, I readily consent, to be swept from the face of the earth.

If they shall in any degree be the means of corrupting morals, undermining character, weakening true religion and piety, the American people ought to utterly abolish them, no matter how great their contributions to science and the useful arts may apparently be. If we must choose, give us ignorance rather than immorality to the end of time. The question in its simplest form is, Have the state universities any right to exist? If this be settled in the negative, there need be no further inquiry as to their character and management. The old law maxim, "Malus usus abolendus est," is here in point. A bad institution like a bad custom is simply to be abolished, not modified.

The first glance at the field of discussion shows us that the state university matter is but a small corner of it. If they are non-Christian or anti-Christian, so are all our high schools and normal schools, and the greater number of our professional and technical schools; and if this catalogue alarm us, may we not stand appalled at the spec-

tacle of our common schools, with their ten millions of children who may never learn in those schools the Apostles' creed or Ave Maria, nor be converted and baptized through their agency?

Several millions of our fellow citizens look upon these godless public schools with abhorrence and while paying taxes for their support, give thanks that their children are not forced to attend them. Here I submit is the proper front of attack. Why vex our souls about a score or so of state universities and colleges, if our great common school system is in the hands of the infidels?

The question broadens. We have to account not simply for an isolated and trifling phenomenon, but for a great, a prodigious historic fact. Our conclusion will depend upon the judgment we may form of this *fact*. If it be of God, who can withstand it; if of Satan, let us make ready for battle.

To form a correct opinion of any great historic fact, there is in our day but one means. No ipse dixit of pope or philosopher or pamphleteer will affect the minds of any who are not already persuaded. It is necessary to attack the problem genetically, to ascertain its origin and trace its development or evolution. In this way we study the jury-system, slavery, ethnology, and even psychology. It were presumption in our day to attempt here any other than the "historic method."

What then was the source,—what the causes contributory,—what the development of the great fact that the American schools are—I will not say "godless"—but rather, state schools than Church schools, rather secular than ecclesiastical?

It is necessary to remind ourselves that this is the nineteenth and not the tenth century, and that between these two ages a great change has come over the civilized world—a change apparent in all departments of life and action, most conspicuous, perhaps, in religion and politics. The Reformation did not simply curtail the supremacy of an Italian episcopate; it established forever the fact of private judgment in things spiritual. This will be admitted by all who will be affected by the present discussion. Others will not deny the fact of private judgment whatever may be their opinions as to the right of private judgment. The revolution in politics has been as complete, and has constantly advanced with equal steps beside that in religion. Let us as briefly as possible explore the track of this joint advance and revolution.

During those two centuries of blood and ruin —the eleventh and the twelfth centuries—the Church was omnipotent in Europe, religion was the absorbing interest of men, theology the only science. Europe for two hundred years was as one vast camp, whence swarmed in successive detachments the whole fighting force of Christen-

dom to the recovery of the Holy City. Kings and emperors were so many papal lieutenants. The offices of state were filled by ecclesiastics, who controlled both the inland administration and the foreign policy of nations according to instruction issuing from Rome. Politics and religion were one in actual organization and embodiment.

Now it was for the Crusades, as is well known, to set in motion a train of causes, which, operating with slow but certain force, have in the course of six hundred years separated politics and religion as wide as the poles.

The Crusades were eye-openers to the lay nobles and yeomen of Europe, who, returning from the East, brought home the experience and accumulations of campaigning through many countries, some knowledge of old and forgotten literatures, many products, fabrics and arts, and a profound respect for the skill, the refinement and the nobleness of the infidel Saracens. The blades of Damascus, the goldsmithing of Antioch were not more wonderful in their eyes, than the learning, the taste and the gentleness of Mohammedans.

The Lombard cities which in the later campaigns supplied the transportation and commissariat of the French, German and English crusaders, acquired that taste and enthusiasm for commerce, and that skill in seamanship which

awaited only the invention of the mariners' compass to engirdle the globe with their adventurous keels. It was a Genoese sailor who first set foot on this new continent.

In the fifteenth century the Mohammedans, pushing a counter-irruption into Europe, captured Constantinople. In that historic capital had been preserved through all the dark ages the philosophies of Plato and of Aristotle, the histories, the poetry and the oratory of the Romans and Greeks. These precious books were now carried by the fugitive Greeks into their exile, to serve as good seed falling upon good ground, in France, in Italy and all the West. The story of the revival of learning need not be told again. Arising thus remotely from the Crusades it wrought together with other causes the great reformation of the sixteenth century.

It is more than probable that those great inventions of the fifteenth century, gunpowder, rag-paper, and printing, and the mariners' compass found their origin in suggestions acquired in those numerous and extended journeys of trade and exploration to the far East—to India and Cathay, which followed, and were made possible by the Crusades.

There is a class of philosophers who find in such inventions the actual and efficient causes of civilization, subordinating to them all other agen-

cies and influences, whether of commerce, industry, art, philosophy or religion. Such an error may receive charitable regard when one reflects upon their undeniable effects.

Gunpowder destroyed feudalism and quenched out chivalry, by making the infantry soldier, armed with a slight chemical tube, more than a match for the mailed and mounted knight. It made standing armies possible. Standing armies put it in the hands of monarchs, to collect regular revenues, to suppress revolting nobles, abolish private war and establish public justice. The mariners' compass carried the merchants and their wares to all quarters of the earth, and transferred the decisive dueling nations from land to the ocean.

But the invention of letters, coming also ages before from the shadowy East, I take to be the crowning achievement of human intelligence and ingenuity. I care not how many engines for moving matter, how many devices for directing force may in the course of time be contrived; far above them all, in point of difficulty, of world-historic importance, will tower the work of Cadmus, the Phoenician, who gave mankind the phonetic alphabet. Faust and Gutenberg but crowned the work of him we call Cadmus, by spreading before men the printed page. With the printing press, "the people" were born. Thenceforth slavery of all sorts was doomed.

To men with open Bibles in their hands there was a tremendous meaning in that scripture, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." And within a single generation the Reformation burst upon Europe like ten thousand meteors. In that far-spreading, far-penetrating light the darkness of ages, the thraldom of centuries, were lifted, never we trust to fall upon mankind again.

The Reformation, what was it, in its essence? There are conflicting opinions, but none will venture to deny that, however insignificant the sparks which kindled it, the Reformation became a great, an all-embracing insurrection of Europe against ecclesiastical power. Good or bad in its origin and results, no one—not even the ultramontanes—will deny that the Reformation was an insurrection. It is on this very ground that they condemn it. The right of private judgment in things spiritual has ever since been asserted; and right or no right, it is the fact that millions of men exercise the privilege of private judgment and interpretation in religion since that time; a thing, before that age, to be spoken of in darkness and with bated breath.

No great revolution is fully comprehended by the men of the time. The Reformation was not. Religious liberty was deemed rather a choice of contending masters, than an emancipation from all masters.

The effect on civil affairs was apparently slight. It left politics about where it found them. The consolidation of fiefs, principalities and kingdoms, brought about by the bankruptcy of Crusading chieftains; the alliances of monarchs with the money-lending cities and boroughs had, by the close of the fifteenth century, crystallized Europe into a loose aggregation of great monarchies. The successors of Gregory VII having failed in their efforts protracted through centuries, to reduce the sovereigns to a condition of vassalage, undertook the more feasible plan of ruling the kingdoms by finesse. The papal nuncios and legates became the power behind the thrones. *They* conducted the diplomacy of Europe. *They* kept not only the consciences of kings, but the keys of their treasure. Ecclesiastics filled the council chambers, and held the great offices of state for generations. Courts spiritual absorbed a large proportion of legal jurisdiction, and bishops and cardinals rode at the head of battalions in many a battle and foray.

This alliance of church and state was an immense obstacle to the advance of civil liberty. It served all the ends of a conspiracy of the powers temporal and spiritual against the rights of man. The Divine right of kings, and its corollary, the duty of non-resistance to tyrants even, were everywhere proclaimed and inculcated. So passed the ages till Richelieu, who, priest and

cardinal that he was, transacted for France and his nominal master precisely as a lay minister of modern times would do. States, he proclaimed, must be ruled by statesmen. The change thus heralded we do not need to trace. It is the story of the rise and progress of civil liberty and that constitutes modern history.

In this hurried sketch I have purposely suppressed the observation I now desire to bring forward in the hope that it may be more impressive.

At the time of the Crusades all art, literature, philosophy, government—were ecclesiastical. There was no distinct secular power.

At this day all power is, or is becoming secular. That government which we delight to call the "best government on earth" is wholly and forever secular. The history of the civilized world from the twelfth century is the story of the decline of ecclesiastical control and authority, and the steady growth of lay learning, influence and power. Within the past century has been developed a new science of political economy, utterly inconceivable in its nature and scope, to the mediaeval citizen. Statesmanship has become a profession. "Liberty, not theology, is the enthusiasm of the nineteenth century."

In the time of Henry III of England, one-half of the House of Lords were spiritual peers. They are now but one-fourteenth. No clergy-

man has held an important civil office in England since the beginning of the last century (180 years). The fact is similar in our own country and in some degree in others. To this great and universal revolution from a state of things in which ecclesiasticism was supreme in government and society, to another in which it has utterly disappeared from public affairs a profound modern thinker has given the happy designation of the "secularization of politics."

At this point I ask only that this great fact be agreed to. The syllabus of Pio Nono in the act of condemning the fact concedes it.

It is now my desire to show that this great movement in politics has been accompanied by another, only second, if second, in importance—the steady, persistent cumulative secularization of education. To this end I ask that you note the succession and import of the events in the history of education which must now pass in review.

The public schools established in every city and town by the later emperors of Rome did not long survive the destruction of the empire. Then for many generations, Western Europe, raided over by successive hordes of barbarians, remained without order or institutions, a wild chaos of contending social and political forces. Learning was quenched out, schools abolished, literature and philosophy obliterated. Only religion,

maimed and distorted, survived, and it is to the survival of Christianity as an organized institution the world owes the recovery of Europe to civilization. Piety was driven by the rough behavior of barbarian chieftans to the secure and mysterious shelter of the cloister. Monasticism became epidemic in the sixth and seventh centuries. In the monasteries were treasured and multiplied precious copies of the Vulgate, and there survived traditions at least of the Roman authors. We shall never know how many noble attempts were made by bishops and abbots, by priests and monks to spread their little knowledge through the society to which they belonged. Not much was accomplished in instruction till the time of Charlemagne, one of those great spirits who are not willing to endure ignorance, disorder and misery.

Among the reforms introduced by this great monarch in the ninth century, was the establishment of schools, in connection with religious houses and establishments naturally under the control of the clergy, the only class of persons in any way capable of conducting schools. From Charlemagne till the beginning of the eleventh century there were, as Mosheim informs us, "no schools in Europe but those which belonged to monasteries and episcopal residences," and it appears that the Benedictine monks had obtained the monopoly of the masterships of those schools.

Those schools, it must be remembered, were not for the people, nor yet for the professional classes as we know them. They were essentially theological schools, for the instruction of the clergy alone. It should be remembered also that in that age, the clergy still formed the only learned profession. They were not only ministers of religion, but ministers of State also. They were the lawyers and physicians of the time. The differentiation of the professions had hardly begun in the tenth century. It did however at length begin; but it has not yet been completed. The separation of the lawyer from the priest, and the physician from the monk has everywhere taken place. The profession of teaching has yet to be fully and finally divaricated from the clerical function.

The progress in this divarication since this was written has been revolutionary. The college professor is rarely "in orders," and few employing boards concern themselves about his church affiliations.

While it is eminently and forever true that it was Christianity, which saved Europe from perpetual barbarism, it is only justice to admit that to the Jew and the Arab we owe it that the Christian civilization, (for so we may term it), of the ninth century did not perish of dry rot. Let it be granted that Draper and Lecky and Buckle overestimate and overemphasize the Semitic

contributions, still there is no denying that to the Hebrews we owe the survival of medical science and to the Saracens of Spain and Sicily that of mathematics, astronomy and philosophy.

Before the close of the tenth century the fame of the great Arabian schools of Seville, Granada, and Cordova had spread throughout Christian Europe, and students in considerable numbers began to flock into Spain to hear the Arabic doctors. Conspicuous among these was that "great and exalted genius," Gerbert, who afterwards became Pope Sylvester II. It is interesting here to compare with this movement, the analogous one which during the last quarter of a century has carried so many young American scholars to the universities and technical schools of Germany. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the young men of Europe journeyed likewise into Spain for post-graduate study.

It is of record that some of these returning to their homes in France and Italy, set up schools for the instruction of youth in the studies of the then "new education." Geometry, medicine and astronomy constituted that "new education," and were denounced by the ultra orthodox as the inventions of the devil. They held their way for all that and we shall hear again of these schools in which they were taught.

Passing forward into the twelfth century we find the free city movement in the ascendant. In

this age the cities of Western Europe became free, rich and ambitious of splendor and influence. It was the age of the great "free city" movement. It was the time when the artisans, taking a lesson in co-operation from the monastic system of the Catholic church, organized the primitive trades-unions, the guilds and crafts, which spreading like a vast net work over Western Europe exercised for generations on labor a self-imposed slavery.

In such an era of co-operation we may not wonder to find a learned historian asserting that, "Associations of learned men were formed in many places, for teaching the various branches of knowledge; and as the youth resorted to them in great numbers eager for instruction, those higher schools, which the next age called universities, were gradually established."

It is a most curious and interesting circumstance that the universities borrowed from the trades-unions, their very name and many customs.

"When those particular incorporations which are now peculiarly called universities were first established, the term of years which it was necessary to study, in order to obtain the degree of master of arts, appears evidently to have been copied from the term of apprenticeship in the common trades, of which the incorporations were much more ancient. As to have wrought seven

years under a master properly qualified, was necessary, in order to entitle any person to become a master and to have himself apprentices in a common trade; so to have studied seven years under a master properly qualified, was necessary to entitle him to become a master, teacher, or doctor (words anciently synonomous) in the liberal arts, and to have scholars or apprentices (words likewise originally synonomous) to study under him." It was a most natural thing that teachers and scholars observing all other classes of society formed into unions or guilds, should follow the fashion, and give at length to their associations the then common name of University."* There were then universities of smiths, of tailors, of weavers, etc., before there were universities, i. e., incorporations of teachers and scholars, but there is no record of the use of the word "university" as now applied, till we reach the thirteenth century.

Now the university of the Crusade era was the very germ from which have grown all modern schools and educational systems. That germinal establishment we have discovered to be an incident of the great free city movement and in a great degree secular and not ecclesiastical in organization.

It is a mistaken and superficial view which displays the universities as being merely developments of the cathedral and monastic schools,

*Adam Smith, Wealth of Nations. 1: 185.

coming down from Charlemagne. It is rather the fact that the new city schools smothered out the cathedral and monastic schools, in spite of the vigorous efforts of Alexander III and other popes to rescue them from extinction. There were, however, without doubt instances, where as in Paris, the new city school became attached to or associated with the cathedral school, but soon to absorb and obliterate it. The testimony of Hase is clear. "They"—the universities—"owe their establishment not to the favor of popes or of princes, but to the necessities of the times, as thousands of students were drawn together by the reputation of some distinguished teacher. Acts of incorporations were not sought for from the Pope until a later period, when the younger universities endeavored by such means to rival those which depended upon their own reputation." *

Captured at length and harnessed into the service of ecclesiasticism, at times appearing to be the very citadel and strongholds of intolerance, still the universities have never been untrue to their origin. If there was intellctual movement anywhere, it was within their halls. When Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon and St. Louis, were leading their hosts of infatuated devotees to death on the plains of Syria, Abelard and his disciples were proclaiming in the Sor-

*History of the Church. N. Y. Appleton. p. 236.

bonne the then intolerable heresy that a man,—at least a philosopher,—might seek for a reason for the faith that is in him. From that time until now the universities have been the nurseries of free thought, science, philosophy, art, freedom. In every democratic uprising their students have been first in the bloody arena. In our own day absolutism in Russia aims its first blows at the universities, because there resides its most dangerous, because most irreconcilable foe.

Secular in their origin and motive the universities of continental Europe have at length generally escaped from ecclesiastical leading strings and reassumed their secular character. They are *teaching* places of science, in the full sense of that word, their professors are teachers, and not teaching-priests. Just in proportion to their degree of emancipation have they grown in estimation and usefulness.

Turning our attention to the schools next below the universities we shall observe a similar movement and outcome.

Luther, to his immortal honor, no sooner saw the triumph of his cause, the emancipation of the German people, than he foresaw the means necessary to the perpetuation of that dear bought liberty. Luther, who was no mere religious zealot, foresaw that if the faith was to be committed to the people, the people must be enlightened. Of what use the book to those who cannot read?

The education of the people was a natural and inevitable sequence of the emancipation of mind effected by the Reformation. He therefore proposed and secured the establishment of numerous grammar schools, to prepare youth for admission to the universities.

Meantime the opposing powers were not idle, nor ignorant of the signs of those times. The Jesuits, no doubt, understood far more clearly than the reformers themselves the full meaning and tendency of the reform movement. They too saw the importance of capturing the schools. The society of Jesus of continental vastness, yet compact as a single battalion, wielded by the central power of a single will, as no military force was ever yet controlled, undertook nothing less than to monopolize the education of Europe and the civilized world. Nor did they stop at that. Their teachers and missionaries spread themselves among the savages of both Americas, they penetrated Africa to the mountains of the Moon, they surmounted the everlasting snows of the Himalayas and trod the streets of Pekin. Wherever they went they carried the "Ordo Studiorum" of the founder, Loyola, a book which is to this hour the hand book and directory of the Jesuit pedagogy.

We cannot trace the events and incidents of this contest for the mastery of society through the mastery of its education. The efforts of both

parties were greatly neutralized; the times were not favorable to their operation. The Reformation opening with the sixteenth century was not consummated till the middle of the seventeenth century, when by the peace of Westphalia, Catholic and Protestant Europe agreed to stop cutting throats and content themselves with turning up noses. In the fierce and desperate struggle of one hundred and fifty years not much could be done for, or with schools.

Still another period of about equal duration, a period of rest, inquiry and preparation, was to pass, before the glorious appearing of a new epoch in education.

In this time the globe was circumnavigated, and the New World occupied by Europeans. The inductive method popularized, but not invented by Bacon, had started science on an infinity of new lines of research and advance. The philosophy of Descartes had loosed the pinions of speculative thought to new and nobler excursions.

Chief of all facts a new science was born, and it was given to the world in the immortal work of Adam Smith, in the same year in which our Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia.

The new science of political economy had for its central postulate, that the causes which move society, to elevate or to degrade, to enrich or to impoverish, to barbarize or to civilize, lie in the

nature of man, as modified and limited by his natural surroundings. Adam Smith lived to see, as perhaps no other great thinker has, his doctrines, not fully understood, but appreciated in some degree, and the policies of empires shaped and molded on new principles. More than ever, nation building, nation culture, became the ambition alike of monarch, nobles and subjects.

All Europe was stirred and leavened with the new doctrine, and the problem of statesmen became, not how to increase and fortify the privileges of the aristocracy, but how to direct and multiply the industrial, commercial and intellectual powers of the nation.

Again as in the days of Gratian and Charlemagne, of Luther and Loyola, the answer came, "Take hold of the schools and through them train the rising generations, and your work will work itself."

It chanced that Germany was the readiest soil to receive the new and precious seed. As the smoke of battle rose from the plain of Jena, from which the French invader had driven in hopeless defeat the last reserves of the German armies, Stein, the Prussian statesman, was working out a plan, under which Germany was to rear up a generation which should not only maintain its "Wacht am Rhein," but should take bloody retribution beneath the towers of Notre Dame.

Then was organized that Prussian system of

public schools, the model on which all modern civilized states are building up their education. Under it all the schools of all degrees are organized, into a complete and harmonious system under the supervision of the supreme power of the state. They are completely secularized in their organization and management notwithstanding the fact that religious teachers are allowed to give instruction at fixed hours of the day or week. The continental nations have adopted similar systems, and even conservative England has entered upon the same path and made a considerable advance.

It is in our own country, however, that the separation of both church and state, and church and school have been most complete. Since the disestablishment of religion in the New England states, the common schools have been everywhere secular. The public high schools are so, and so are the normal schools. All law and medical schools are virtually secular, for wherever they are attached to denominational corporations they are never, or very rarely at least, brought under denominational influences or supervision, nor are any religious opinions or exercises taught or required in them. The national schools founded in every state under the law of 1862, and the technical schools of Troy, Hoboken, Worcester and other cities, operate independently of the action of councils, synods or conferences.

There remain under ecclesiastic control besides the theological seminaries, a large number of colleges, and a considerable but steadily decreasing number of academies in the older states. Most of them will probably within a generation be merged in the local high schools.

Within the colleges ecclesiasticism has lost much ground. A few years ago their professors were generally clergymen; to-day but a small proportion of the teachers are in orders. Even in the most rigidly orthodox denominational institutions, the professional teacher, the trained expert, who has learned his art and specialty in Paris or Berlin, in Heidelberg or Manchester is driving the cleric from the laboratory and lecture room. Our denominational colleges are generally affiliated with, not managed by conference, synod or council.

The highest authority on the subject, President Porter, of Yale, has plainly shown and enunciated the fact, that just in proportion as American colleges have become great and populous, have they become the less denominational.

We now come back to the proposition from which our discussion set out. Parallel with the secularization of politics we have traced the secularization of education. Over against the separation of church and state, we have set the correlated fact of the separation of priest and pedagogue.

In the ninth century theology (so called) was the only science; the priest and monk the only teachers; in the nineteenth century theology is one of a multitude of sciences, and the priest is not the exclusive teacher of that even. Philosophy has passed into lay hands, and the lay schoolmaster is abroad in the land. Were this not the fact no such convention as this were possible.

Now of this secularization of education, which none will deny to be a fact, I desire to say that it has not been the work of any gang or clique of atheists, infidels or agnostics. No schools of materialists in philosophy, or of anarchists in politics have wrought it out. It is not the offspring of a corrupt and decaying Christianity, nor any relapse into barbarism.

It is rather a part, an essential part and factor in the purest, fairest, Christian civilization the world has known. It is a movement co-equal and co-temporaneous with the march of liberty, the extension of science, the efflorescence of literature and art. It cannot be diabolic in its origin or progress. It is, it must be a great providential fact,—a moment in the great divine evolving of human history.

If this be so, if education is passing forever out of the control of the church into that of the state, out of the hands of priests into those of professors, I put to those who are declaiming against

the movement, denouncing it as godless, infidel, diabolic,—I put to them that most cogent, though perhaps inelegant question, "What are you going to do about it?" Will you stem the rising Atlantic with your brooms, or embarking on the mighty wave of progress, be borne onwards with the advance of true Christian civilization?

Here the present discussion might close. Having traced the rise and progress of a great providential historic movement and development of secularization in politics, science and education we might rest, leaving on the shoulders of dissentients the onus of proving this progress a misdirection, this development an aborted process.

Let those, we might say, who now deny the right and the duty of the people to educate, let them show cause why after abandoning the whole field of the primary education, the larger part of the secondary and a wide scope of the superior education, they ought to be left in undisputed possession of the scanty remnant. When they gave over to the people the common schools, they gave up the only principle on which they might now stand with consistency if not with success.

The bishop of Rome and his consistories have not committed this dialetic suicide. Modern civilization, say they, is a retrogression from so called liberty, and an enslavement; free government is a delusion. The church through her infallible head delivers the rule of faith and the maxims of con-

duct for men and communities. The priesthood are the divinely commissioned teachers of the race and shepherds of peoples. Accordingly all public and secular schools are anathema in a lump. Here is consistency and good logic. Grant the premises, and the conclusion is inevitable. But it will be impossible to convince any modern nation, that the state may conduct the education of the people in the common schools and high schools, but that to the church or churches must be reserved the training of the leaders. The power which educates the people will educate the educators.

Refusing then to agree with the ultramontane doctrine that modern civilization is diabolic, free government a snare, and public schools a satanic invention, let us now inquire whether there may not be in public education some elements which in their nature and relations justify the fact of its existence.

First of all, it needs to be observed that the task of the educators in our times is far other from that which exercised the ingenuity of Alcuin and John Scotus in the ninth century, or of Abelard and Anselm in the twelfth. Then it was a few ecclesiastics who were to be trained and furnished. To-day the millions of the people are demanding to be schooled. The self-education of whole nations is to the thoughtful student of sociology the most interesting and the most mag-

nificent spectacle of modern times. Nowhere has this idea penetrated, but it has carried with it the other and inseparable idea, that only the people can educate the people. No sect, no church, nor all the sects and all the churches combined are equal to that gigantic labor. No power, save the supreme power of the people, operating through their appropriate agency, the state, can collect, co-ordinate and conduct the immense forces and revenues necessary to that work. Regarded as a mere business, as an industry, no private nor corporate agencies can handle it. Supremely amusing then are the pretensions of the "True Church," whether called Sandemanian, Second Adventist, Hicksite or Dunkard, to be the teachers of the people. The education of the people must be public or not at all. To entrust the education of the people to the churches, would be no more absurd than to confide the defense of the frontiers to the journeymen tailors. War is the business of the nation: so is education. Public education is universal in its aim.

But what are the advantages of public schools?

First, economy. The private and denominational academies of New York and New England, are rapidly giving place to public high schools. Why? Because the large schools can be closely graded, and the teachers distributed according to their special gifts. The small school must lump its work and keep its teachers

jacks of all trades and masters of none. This same principle will sooner than most of us will now believe reduce the numbers and proportions of the small colleges which now exist in all our states. The great colleges are specializing their instruction. The metaphysician, the chemist, the physicist are permitted to confine themselves each to his specialty. The result is a kind of instruction, which the small college with its limited faculty cannot offer.

Now the operation of this economic principle of the division of labor is just as certain in its course, as the movements of the planets, or the action of gravitation. No beating of ecclesiastic drums or chanting of litanies can check its steady progress.

Such professorial titles as "Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, History and Political Economy," "Professor of Natural Sciences," "Professor of Mathematics, Astronomy and Civil Engineering," are simply ridiculous in this day.

Next, organization, uniform, comprehensive, inspiring, will be possible. It needs no prophet to foresee that the American state will at no distant day organize her education as other civilized nations have done, forming the progressive stages of schools into a complete and harmonious organism, offering to the people a free course of school privileges, beginning from the kinder-

garten and ending in the university. Into this system the existing private and denominational institutions will make haste at length to enter, for I trust that system will be broad enough and catholic enough and elastic enough to embrace and employ all the benefactions of the pious and all the labors of the devotee. As indicating even now the tendency of private institutions to take on a public character, it is curious to note the assumption by some most respected denominational colleges of municipal titles; for instance —the Universities of Chicago, Rochester, Syracuse, Boston University, etc. Institutions which are to depend on public schools for recruits, must inevitably become themselves public, and will at length be glad to become so.

Doubtless the motive for assuming such titles was in part to invite local support on the understanding that the institutions would not be offensively sectarian. There is, however, a trace of dishonesty about it.

The public school of whatever grade is democratic, in the good sense of that term. When the sons and daughters of governors and senators and carpenters and saloon keepers and so on, sit side by side and compete in the same classes, we need not fear any dangerous outbreaks of the spirit of caste. The public schools may do more to break down aristocracies of birth and

wealth, than any amount of preaching could do without their aid. Those who are to live and move among the people obtain then best preparation in the schools of the people whether higher or lower. The public schools by ignoring sectarianism are doing the greatest possible service to pure and genuine Christianity. There can be no doubt that the great and general liberalization of the past generation has been largely due to the public schools in which all kinds of religion have been tolerated. The Protestant has learned that the Catholic does not carry on his brow the mark of the beast. Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, have found that they do not need to regard one another as a better sort of infidels. So powerful is the influence of the public school in mingling and unifying discordant social elements, that I believe attendance upon them ought to be compulsory in all the new states, into which is now pouring a tide of migration which has not been paralleled since the days of Attila and Theodoric.

Compulsory attendance on public schools does not seem to the writer at the present time to be generally necessary. The excellent instruction offered in them without money and without price, will draw in all children except those of a few zealots, who would contrive to evade a compulsory statute. However, a recent statute of Minnesota re-

quires every person having control of a child between the ages of eight and sixteen years to send him to some school in which the common English branches are taught, under penalty of fine or imprisonment.

The public schools of whatever grade are best calculated to develop good morals and good character. Here we reach disputed ground. It is no longer sound theology, to found morality on religion, but religion is built on the rock of morality. Every system of practical morals involving the theory that the sanction of conduct is only to be found in the region of faith has proved a failure. The teaching that only true believers can be good and do right, and that nothing is true or right except as sanctioned by the commands of religion, can only end in the deterioration or destruction of character. Those persons who have been trained under a system which permits escape from responsibility for conduct or misconduct through repentance or penances or indulgences, are those whose powers of resistance to evil are generally weakest. It is ruinous to character, the teaching that men have not in their own power the control of their motives, and that punishment will not inexorably follow transgression.

Education postulates the essential goodness of human nature. It proposes to educe what is in him, not to transform his nature. The public

school assuming the essential goodness in human nature, is in the best position to inculcate a sound morality, founded upon man's nature and developed by experience. It can and ought to instill all the virtues, because of their essential loveliness, and adaptedness to man's best nature and highest happiness. It can condemn and denounce vice because of its essential ugliness and its diabolical influence on men and society. I think it a great gain that under a public school system moral training can be fully separated from the religious and sectarian instruction of the family and the church. It is a gain alike to morals and religion. Yet I am aware that this separation is made by many sincere and excellent persons the very ground of condemnation, believing it to be essential to learning and religion alike, that youth shall take equal doses of the Lord's prayer and logic, the Creed and chemistry, effectual calling and the binomial theorem.

It needs to be added that the very fact that the public school *is public* is advantageous. Publicity purifies society, as free air and water wherever they can have access, dissolve and dissipate the germs of disease. That it exists under and by virtue of the law of the land, gives the school dignity in the eyes of the pupil and the parent. To live and act under law is of itself a moderating, sobering process. In proportion as public law has been actually extended over higher edu-

cation, the tricks and deviltries of the mediaeval monastic school and the university of the earlier ages with its special law, have been eradicated. They will not disappear from our state universities into which they were imported from institutions arrogating the name of Christian, until the operation of the law of the land shall be recognized to be the guardian of right and the sanction of conduct. Living under public law inculcates respect for law, regard for order, pride in city or state, patriotic devotion to country.

It is high time that the law of the land become operative on the population of all schools and universities. The suggestion of special courts has been made on a foregoing page.

It may be that I have wasted your time in this brief argument in favor of public schools as nurseries of morality and character, for the late admirable legislation of our own state providing for systematic instruction in morals and conduct assumes the ground contended for. Already our normal schools are organizing this new department of work in order to fit their pupils to carry its methods and results into the common schools. I believe this to be the beginning of a great movement in our state for which future generations will bless and applaud the originators.

There is of course no available gauge or measure of the effect of the statute in improving the

morality of the people. It is part of a joint cause whose operation cannot be separated out. As concerns the required instruction in the effects of narcotics and stimulants, State Superintendent John W. Olsen in a letter of April 29, 1908, states that "the majority of the teachers have been conscientious in complying with the spirit of this legislation" and believes that the instruction given has been very beneficial. It is also his belief that temperance instruction in the public schools has already established a public sentiment in favor of local option in 60 to 70 per cent. of the Minnesota counties.

There remains but one other inquiry. Will the church lose or gain by relegating to the state the small corner of the educational domain on which she has maintained her hold?

In my judgment the church rather loses than gains by the effort expended in founding and perpetuating colleges and academies. The results, viewed from the denominational standpoint, are inadequate to the sacrifices. The employment of the college as a part of the apparatus of evangelization is not only unprofitable, but I believe it to be mischievous, and the cause of a vast deal of unhappiness to many earnest souls. I solemnly believe it to be a capital advantage of the public university that its students may there quietly pursue their studies, unharrassed by the untimely importunities of proselyting comrades or professors. But proselyting,

I hasten to say, has become so offensive that many Christian colleges disclaim it in emphatic terms in their announcements. My experience is that in the "godless" state universities you will find less wild speculation and fewer skeptics, than in the most orthodox and evangelical denominational colleges. Young men and women do not want to be, or to be called, "infidels," but if you will draw a line of separation between sheep and goats, some will for very recklessness take the left hand road.

The church gains whenever through her agency, society is elevated and purified, and souls are ransomed and disenthralled. She is not and cannot be self-aggrandizing. She is not for herself, but for her work. She is the agency of Divine Providence for the performance of certain high and peculiar services to humanity. Every work which she can relegate to other agencies economizes power for her higher permanent duty. The church has in our day thrown upon the state the care of the unfortunate classes, the deaf, the dumb and the blind, the insane and the imbecile, the drunkard and the pauper. Is the church therefore short of employment?

The state has assumed the conduct of the primary education, and is rapidly and surely embracing the secondary and superior schools. Will the church's occupation be gone?

Nearly 1900 years have passed since our Sav-

iour gave his life for us men and our salvation, and yet that great sacrifice and benefit are known but to a fraction of mankind. In every Christion land the majority of the people are strangers to the church door. Why? Because the church from the apostolic days has been constantly laboring not so much for souls as for the formation of powerful societies, the collection of vast estates, the maintenance of hierarchies, the erection of costly and magnificent edifices and the entertainment therein of men through scenic and artistic displays. Protestant and Catholics alike have striven with prodigious energy to dominate and control the state; to create and maintain a state within the state.

"My Kingdom," said the Master, "is not of the world." Christianity is only a power as she is a moral power. Estates, endowments, principalities, dynasties, colleges, simply encumber and enthrall her.

Says Dr. McCosh, whom none will suspect of unorthodox proclivities, "The business of the church is to proclaim and enforce the doctrine and the duties of the word of God on all who are under her influence, and then make them, while not slothful in business, to be at the same time, fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, whether in their farms, their factories or their stores. And just as little is it the direct office of a church to set up a college to teach such branches as mathe-

matics, and natural history, and chemistry, or to plant schools for teaching penmanship and arithmetic. This is not one of the injunctions laid on the church in the Word of God: this is not one of the powers which Christ has committed to her. Of this I am sure, that a church, a church court, a general assembly, a presbytery, is not the fittest body for conducting a factory or an infirmary. The history of England, Scotland and Ireland confirms this. The churches in those countries were never good managers of general educational institutions, and the people are now proceeding to take these out of the hands of the churches. I have not the least fear that religion will suffer in consequence. The truth is that the colleges, such as Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin and Edinburgh, under the churches, did not promote the cause of religion to any extent, and for ages past the parochial schools of Scotland have not been in any special sense seminaries of religion."

The church, then, will gain by abandoning fields in which she has no longer a call to work. Liberated from a labor once incumbent on her she may now throw her unincumbered force into her proper work, the evangelization of mankind, the leavening of all society with that true leaven which alone can transform or rather reform mankind in the image of the Creator. The market needs to be purified, but the church will not open a produce or bullion exchange. Edu-

cation must be infused and consecrated with the spirit of the great teacher, but the church need not keep the keys of the schoolroom. Under her mild, serene, but omnipotent moral supervision, all enterprises, all functions and relationships of men will be sanctified. Influence, not power is the panoply of the church.

Let it be finally agreed that as the church has abandoned all grand and systematic charity, as she has given up the schooling of the people, so she must by the same inexorable logic of events be forced to resign the higher education of the leaders of the people. The people, thanks to the church and to churchmen, have at length been brought to the point at which they resolve to educate themselves.

This is the crowning summit of that true democracy prescribed by the founder of our religion, the brotherhood of man. Its near approach is just as sure as the return of the earth to the zero of its orbit.

Shall we not further and finally agree that this process is beneficent and its culmination to be devoutly expected? Shall not the sons of God rejoice, and the circling stars chant a thanksgiving that the visible company of all faithful people called the church, is at length emancipated from all huckstering, police duty and pedagogy?

IV. THE CIVIC EDUCATION

The speaker had resigned the presidency of the University of Minnesota in February, 1883, and was at the same time elected professor of political science. It was the expectation that his successor would be selected in time to assume his duties at the beginning of the following college year. The regents did not, however, succeed in filling the vacancy by that time, and at their request Mr. Folwell remained in office an additional year. It was his hope and ambition to build up a strong department of political science, and he took advantage of the occasion for a baccalaureate address to formulate and express his views on the "Civic Education." The following is a reprint from the Minneapolis Tribune of May 28, 1884.

To the candidates for graduation I beg to offer a word of explanation. You might with reason expect me on this occasion to speak of things of the past and to sum up the work and experience of the years we have spent together in this place of study. This task, happily for my own feelings, I am able to devolve upon your valedictorian, leaving him to speak our novissima verba.

It is the immemorial tradition that the baccalaureate degree is a first or minor degree. By it the apprentice is admitted as a journeyman student to the guild of scholars, to be at length

further promoted to the full rank of master or doctor. It is rather the opening than the closing of the course. I am well aware that in later times and in our country but few scholars continue their studies according to ancient custom, within the precincts of the university. Still the time-honored doctrine has never departed from the minds of college instructors. No college executive ever fails at some time to say to candidates as I now, on behalf of my respected colleagues, say to you: "Up to this time you have been learning the use of your tools. Your proper work as scholars now begins. The commencement ceremonial signalizes your admission to citizenship in the republic of letters. You face a rising, not a setting sun." For this reason I think myself justified in asking you to join me in a discussion of vast moment in that field which you are just entering. As beneficiaries of a public endowment for higher education you cannot be indifferent to any subject which concerns either that education or that public which has endowed it. I therefore propose to you as a theme for discussion on this occasion "The Civic Education" as a part of the higher education. I trust, dear friends, that you will none the less receive with patience what I have to say as addressed to yourselves, because it so chances my paper will incidentally serve all the purposes of an inaugural address upon assuming the duties of the department of political

science in our university, to which I hope to devote an almost undivided attention. It is a rare occasion that enables one to combine valedictory and salutatory in the same address.

The passage of the Civil Service reform act by the forty-seventh Congress astonished and, in spite of the gravity of the measure, amused the country. Convinced that the people were resolved, our national solons disposed of the bill with the promptness of a boy who, seeing no way of escape from the doctor's orders, swallows his dose precipitately, feeling that it "were well done if 'twere done quickly." Besides, there was the conspicuous incongruity that in the ranks of the great party of moral ideas and reform no champion could be found for the great reform of all; which, therefore, had to accept the hospitality of that other great party whose motto had some time been, "To the victors belong the spoils."

It was a full generation from the adoption of the constitution to the time when the infamous doctrine that public offices are proper rewards for political services, went into practical effect. From that time the tyranny of the majority has been established and maintained, and government by the people has been supplanted by government by party. Except as far as influence extends, the outvoted minorities might as well have been disfranchised. Our national elections have become tremendous contests of one political

army against another for the possession of the public treasury, the armed force of the country and all other instruments of government.

Happy is it for our nation that the tyranny did not seize upon the Government in its infancy, and that under the guidance of a body of trained and experienced statesmen our legislatures and our executive and judicial administrations were organized. There is no present occasion for describing in detail the operation of the spoils system as it has existed from Jackson's first administration. We are chiefly concerned with the fact that by the passage of the civil service reform act, the doom of that system has been spoken. The law has gone quietly into effect and with great wisdom its operation has been confined to a limited range of offices. Of the 110,000 positions in the United States civil service only 14,000 have been brought under the operation of the law. The first report of the Civil Service Commission I think to be the most important public document of the age, as proving the feasibility of the law, and showing how it may be extended to all the ministerial offices in the service. Hereafter we shall hear no machine politicians proclaiming that it will not work. It does work and works well. Some states have taken up the good cause and others will follow. Let it take a generation or more to fully develop the details of this reform; it is glorious for men of our day

to have established its principle. The civil service act means that by and by no majority shall have the right or the power to seat its bosses and whippers in the public offices. It means that no party in power shall organize the hundred thousand public servants into solid battalions for political campaigns. It means that no political party shall have the right or the opportunity of depriving the people of the services of capable and experienced servants. It means, country and people before party and spoils. The principle will be extended to our public education, and will result in permanent employment for competent teachers, who will then and not sooner, form a profession. The just principle of this reform—that only those shall do things who know how to do them—will at length be carried over from the administrative functions of government to directive and legislative functions. If it shall be settled that only those who know how shall execute laws, it will be demanded that only those who know how shall make laws; and the people will not suffer a political party to drive from their service in legislative halls their most capable law makers, simply because they have been there long enough, in the estimation of party wheel horses waiting for their places.

An ultimate result of the civil service reform—and all I have said up to this point has for its purpose to emphasize the statement I am now mak-

ing—an ultimate result of civil service reform must be the opening in our country of a legitimate political career for young men. That time may not be so far away as many of us now feel it is. Reforms in modern time move with an immense momentum. Certainly the result I mention will appear, for it cannot be possible that in America—free, enlightened, Christian—we shall not attain to a system which China, heathen and despotic, has enjoyed for centuries. When the public offices shall be open as a fact and not as a theory, to the competition of all aspiring youth, the country may, by a wise selection of the best, form for herself a true aristocracy—a government of the best. When no accident of birth or wealth or political connection can insure political employment, young men may honorably aspire to obtain it by proving their merit.

The report I have already referred to shows the operation of this principle already. It is rather a damage to a candidate to be recommended to the civil service examiners by a congressman. It is at this point that we meet an objection constantly brought forward by opposers of the reform, who say: "Your body of permanent office holders will soon become a clique or caste of narrow, supercilious, mechanical snobs. In place of the true aristocracy you promise, you will give the people a 'bureaucracy,' like that which forms the

machinery of a Russian despotism." I think the danger of "bureaucracy" must be admitted. It is natural for a body of men retaining offices for long terms to fall into the delusion that they have a kind of proprietorship in them, and the properties intrusted to themselves. Especially is this true when admission to the office holding craft is by grace of an appointing power, and family interest and political interest unite in maintaining the caste. The old army gave proof of this. The new army, officered by cadets selected by competitive examinations, will not lose in efficiency, but will gain by emancipation from the snobbery of family and social cliques.

For a graphic and most interesting showing of the evils of "Bureaucracy," see Balzac's novel under that title.

Granting the dangers of bureaucracy we have to inquire whether they will be greater under a reformed civil service than they now are under our present deformed system.

There is a social principle of vast energy and far penetrating activity, which now demands tardy recognition in our governmental operations. I mean the principle of division of labor—division of labor, remitting each individual to that employment in which he can be most efficient; assorting employments so that to the strong may fall the heavy tasks, to the weak the lighter

ones; assorting abilities so that brains may be sent to the quarter deck and brawn to the forecastle—division of labor at once a cause, concomitant and consequence of civilization. This principle everywhere acknowledged to be the master power in industry and commerce—this fundamental economic postulate—we have been vainly, as will appear, endeavoring to shut out of public affairs. Plato, the Greek, understood this better than we moderns, saying in his Republic: "We should make it our special business to choose what men and what talents are suited for the guardianship of a state."

The circumstances of our English colonists naturally directed them toward primeval forms of democracy. The town-meeting system was appropriate for rural communities, economically independent, growing their own food, manufacturing their own fabrics, and under congregational forms conducting their own worship. Under a system of restricted suffrage, it was the general fact that almost any elector could discharge the duties of any office. All voters were supposed to be equally competent to make and to be officers. For several generations the fact corresponded sufficiently near to this theory—the primeval theory of democracy. I need not say that time has passed. The American farmer no longer cobbles his shoes or wears his homespun coat. The rural handicraftsman has dis-

appeared. The factory system has massed the manufacturing population into urban centres and associated them as attachments, almost automatic, with machines. As labor is now organized and paid, the wage-worker cannot leave his bench, his lathe or his loom to take part in public affairs. The words which the son of Sirach spoke of the husbandman, the carpenter, the smith and the potter twenty-five centuries ago, have come true again in these latter days.

"They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit in the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment; they shall not declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken." — Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii: 33. To which he adds (verse 34): "But they will maintain the state of the world, and their desire is in the work of their craft."

Employers in their fierce competition for profits, are as unwilling as laborers are unable to take their share of public duty. The refusal of business men to take office, their reluctance to do jury duty, and their carelessness about voting are notorious. Division of labor still has been working with the silence and unceasing energy of gravitation in politics as well as out of politics. While sending some men to the farm and others to merchandise, it has set apart others to fix the primaries, to manage the caucuses, and to

tinker the laws. The politics of nation, state, county, and town have gone into the hands of a class—a self-constituted body with its bosses and workers and strikers as perfectly organized as a modern army. Happily for our freedom, this body is commonly divided into two or more contending hosts; yet it has happened that they have been in secret alliance in schemes of plunder. If there are any who do not know, they ought at once to learn, that money is now the one great power in politics. A great metropolitan journal has published a systematic schedule showing the average cost of obtaining the principal offices, state and national, to candidates and their backers. It is simply notorious that in the last presidential contest money was poured by the millions, by both great parties into the doubtful states. It is an ominous fact that many seats in the United States Senate are occupied by millionaires, and some fearful citizens say, "None others need apply." It is no secret that no citizen need aspire to the House of Representatives unless he or his friends have many thousands to spend. To a plutocracy then we have come! Let those who denounce civil service reform, for fear of bureaucracy, now take their choice. They may content themselves with the present system of bosses and strikers working the public for spoils, or join in the effort for a better one, under which merit and competency shall be the pass-

port to office. The conclusion of this matter now is, that under the inevitable operation of the principle of the division of labor, there must and will be a body of persons set aside for public functions, and choose we must between a self-constituted body, actuated by greed and ambitions, and one composed of men selected by appropriate tests for proven fitness.

In beginning the reform of our civil service we have made our choice, and I have too much faith in the sound sense of my countrymen to believe that they will not carry it forward. And when at length it shall be the settled policy of our country, approved and glorified by experience, I trust that the name of one man now little heard may be named with honor, the Hon. Mr. Jenckes of Rhode Island, who almost a generation ago, when the great Republican party was in unchallenged control of the Government, in vain contended in Congress for the passage of a civil service reform bill. If I have spoken at too great length upon a matter which is merely introductory in this address, it is because I am impressed with its vast moment and because I foresee that it will introduce a most important revolution into our education. We have agreed that to escape the tyranny of a self-constituted oligarchy we shall at length, as the only and the happy alternative, entrust public functions to a selected body of trained experts

and specialists. For this body there will be needed a new education as for a learned profession. The need is an obvious one; already considerable movement has been made in response to it. But this education is only part of a greater one far less likely to be cared for. Under all forms of government and all kinds of administrations eternal vigilance is ever the price of liberty. The more we specialize in politics the greater the need of political knowledge in the people. The greater the powers and skill of a body of officials, still greater the need of a large body of men learned in civil affairs out of office. This is simply saying that employers must understand their business as well as employes. It will be a fatal day for liberty if ever the American people turn their public affairs over to any body of men and excuse themselves from further concern about them. If, therefore, the civil service reform shall be a blessing and not a curse to the country, we must provide an ampler *civic education for the whole people, as well as for special instruction of our public servants.* The schools of the future may or may not teach less mathematics, less language, less natural science, but they must teach something about the administration of public affairs, about the great political questions of suffrage and citizenship, taxation and public education, and about the great

economic doctrines of population, rent, wages, profits, value, money, and credits.

An inquiry into knowledge of public affairs possessed by first year students in a large number of our American colleges and universities, by Professor William A. Schaper in 1907, has disclosed a depth of ignorance beyond belief.

All teachers—and I include the clergy and the journalists—must be thoroughly furnished with the body of established economic and political truth. To a tremendous task, then, has the civil service reform committed us—that is, to the political and economic education of a nation of a hundred millions of people. Immense, however, and important as this work is, I think it possible to make haste too quickly in it. I doubt if it would be wise, if practicable, to introduce the study of political economy into our common schools in the present condition of that science. It is only a hundred years or a little more since the subject assumed a form to which the name of science could be given. There are very few topics upon which authorities are united. We are probably not ready to introduce the dogmatic teaching of political economy into common schools.

There are present indications that elementary political economy will be rapidly introduced into our western high schools.

On the other hand, we probably are ready to introduce instruction in the organization of our Government and its administration, and in regard to this we ought to adopt the excellent method now used in teaching geography—that of beginning with the local and proceeding gradually to the distant and foreign. Our children should first of all be taught the nature of the town or city government, then that of the county or state, and later that of the nation. The existing manuals of civil government reverse this natural order when they do not wholly ignore all but the United States Government. In regard to social instruction I think no better beginning can be made than is now made in some of our states by the introduction of compulsory instruction upon the injurious effects of alcoholism. A generation of such work will do more to wipe out the curse of drunkenness and its dread accompaniments, misery and crime, than all the Maine laws and prohibitory amendments that could be passed in a century. Why should we not use our schools for so beneficent a work?

For the effect of the instruction given in the common schools of Minnesota on the use of narcotics and stimulants the reader will please see page 178.

Hitherto we have been teaching the children the things likely to be useful to them in the shops and the market. Let us begin to instruct them as to the duties and relations of

home, and social circle, and the ballot box. Business, after all, forms but a small part of life and that a mere incidental part. "Conduct," says Matthew Arnold, "conduct forms three-fourths, if not seven-eighths of life." Let us educate for life and not for mere dicker. In spite of the great and distracting activity of a political class, deceiving ourselves as well as foreigners into the notion that we are wholly engrossed in public affairs, I think it to be the American habit to underrate politics and government. Nor is this fact strange. Few in numbers, sparsely occupying vast and fertile areas, reaping unlimited harvests and trading to all the ports of both oceans, our farmers, artisans and merchants have thought it puerile business to be assessing and collecting taxes, adjusting accounts and tinkering the laws. This all the more, because the *laissez-faire* doctrine preached by the English economists, who were our early teachers, obtained and has held so general acceptance. At length we are slowly opening our eyes to a new order of affairs. We are no longer a band of colonists hanging on the fringe of the Atlantic border. We are no longer an aggregation of rural democracies, managing our public affairs in the town meeting. We are not a mere federation of states. We are a great nation, conveniently subdivided, but having a central power practically omnipotent. Our population is

gathered into and about certain great centers of industry and commerce. In these great cities democracy is confessedly a failure, and we find them resorting to the State Governments to impose upon themselves a government which shall make life and property safe. Under the socialistic tendencies of the age we are calling on the Government to execute functions which our forefathers left to the operation of the voluntary principle. We are making of the Government a great mutual benefit and insurance institution, in place of confining it to the protection of person and property. We place the whole industries of the country under the protection and control of the Government, and there is not a business man from Boston to San Francisco but breathes easier when Congress has adjourned without disturbing the markets and demoralizing our vast enterprises. What government may do then is a matter of immediate and often vital concern to every citizen. The power to tax is a power to rob; the power to arrest and imprison is a power to enslave; the power to take life is a power to commit judicial murder. Certainly we cannot overestimate the civic education which may train citizens to perform their duties and defend their rights.

But let us extend our view beyond the ordinary run of things, beyond routine functions and concealed immunities. We are met at once by an

array of political problems, tremendous and appalling to the trained publicist, but which every American citizen will have to pass upon, probably before the generation to which you belong shall have left the stage. I must pass with simple mention the question of legalizing the caucus in the way of a preliminary election under legal regulation, so that the voter's choice shall not be narrowed down to the brace of candidates offered by the corner groceries and the engine houses.

In 1897 the legislature of Minnesota provided for "primary elections" of party candidates for the elective offices of counties and large cities. The effect has been to greatly weaken the power of the boss and the machine; also, to give an advantage to popular gentlemen desiring office, without earning nomination by party service. Aspirants to the offices mentioned are, however, obliged to make a double campaign; one, to secure the nomination, the other, the election. Modest citizens who would accept nominations tendered by a caucus or convention, are little disposed to make oath that they "seek" the offices, and to devote themselves for weeks to personal solicitations for support at the "primary." It is specially distressing to see aspirants to judicial places peddling their cards, photographs, and other advertising devices on the streets. The experiment has not been long enough continued to warrant a conclusive opinion. The voters, meantime, are content to see the bosses unhorsed.

We are already wrestling with the problem of an election system which may insure to minorities a just representation, and to the people honest returns of an honest count of honest ballots. Is it not astonishing that after so many ages of democracy mankind has yet to invent the means of getting the ultimate elementary act—a tally of the votes—honestly done?

The election law of Minnesota provides for the voluntary use of voting machines, and a state commission has been appointed to select from the numerous devices the one they deem most practicable. The first voting machine was, as is believed, the invention of J. W. Rhines, a citizen of Minnesota, who did not perfect it.

The further extension of the suffrage is a question already upon us, and the crack of the door is already open by the entering wedge of school suffrage for women in our own state. The same kind of argument which persuaded the people that women are good voters for school officers will at length carry us to the ground that they are good voters for all kinds of officers. Without doubt we shall soon extend the suffrage to its furthest possible limit. For one, I have no objection to extended suffrage, provided it be restrained by proper checks and guards. What those shall be will soon be a practical question.

The only addition to woman suffrage up to this time in Minnesota, is that authorizing them to vote for public library officers and to hold office accordingly.

It ought always to be understood that the suffrage is a political *privilege* and not a *right* of any species; and as such, ought to be exercised only by such persons as are generally capable and truly patriotic. This principle, if it could be applied, would disfranchise many unworthy men, and might admit many women.

Of all propositions which have so far been made none seem to me so well worthy to be entertained as that of the establishment of a body of intermediate electors, chosen by the people, who shall be charged with the selection of all publics officers required by the constitutions to be elected. This plan is not new in our country. The electoral college for the choice of President and Vice-President of the United States was designed to form a body of electors who should vote freely for such candidates as they should severally prefer. It needs not to be said that this wise plan was early turned awry by the operation of party government.

The suggestion for the revival of the plan of intermediate electors so strongly favored by many wise publicists, is not likely to be welcomed in a democracy in which "manhood suffrage" has been once introduced. There is, as is well-known, at present, a strong drift of sentiment in favor of relieving state legislators of the duty of serving as bodies of intermediate electors of United States

senators by an amendment of the constitution. So difficult a task is this that some states are resorting to experiments for placing their legislatures under an extra-constitutional popular mandate. In a late case the unexpected election of a democratic senator by a republican legislature has taken place.

Another great question soon to gain the attention of all thinking people, as it already has that of the serious few, is that of land monopoly. A social arrangement which permits a fraction of the population to monopolize the land which forms the standing room of all the people on this planet, and permits those few landlords to appropriate from generation to generation that steadily advancing increment of value due to population alone cannot long stand unchallanged. Nor has it so stood. The Code Napoleon, requiring an absolute and equal division of land among heirs, is an instance of one form of solution. What plan we shall adopt will demand the highest social genius of the next generation. No question is so vital in politics as that of the tenure and descent of lands. Any change in them means revolution, farther reaching than any changes in the machinery of government. This essentially socialistic question of land tenure cannot be handled without involving others similar. . If to day you ask the question, "Ought land to be held in severalty?" to-morrow you will be asking ought anything to be owned by individuals? Is

not property robbery, as Proudhon teaches us? German Socialists have already pronounced boldly for the government ownership of capital, including all manufactories and means of transportation.

The book of Henry George, "Progress and Poverty," as eloquent as it is misleading, has nevertheless had the effect to awake many people to the truth that property in land especially is a creation of law, and not a naked, sacred right antecedent to all law as affirmed in the infamous Lecompton constitution of Kansas. The national and state governments are being invoked to guard the public interests in the public domain and to co-operate with private owners in conserving the natural resources of the country. The national government is tardily beginning to cease giving away to lucky prospectors the mines, forests, and water powers, which are in some sense the heritage of all.

A considerable political party in our own country is already making substantially the same demands as to factories and railroads. The transportation question, which has already convulsed many states, will recur again and again. A nation which monopolizes the carrying of letters, which is soon to absorb the telegraphic business and which carries merchandise of many sorts to every neighborhood in the land, cannot object on the ground of principle from assuming the direction if not also the management of all transportation.

In spite of "government ownership" planks in party platforms, and corresponding declarations of prominent candidates for high places, the American people seem resolved to work out the experiment of railroad regulation before assuming ownership of them.

Much encouraging progress has been made, against the opposition of railroad proprietors, resenting interference with their "business" and desiring to be let alone. They will not be let alone until they furnish transportation at reasonable and equal prices to all passengers and shippers.

Few are aware how largely modern legislation is socialistic in principle. Our public school system, rapidly extending to embrace all grades of schooling, is essentially socialistic. On the same ground rest the broad powers conceded to boards of health and medical examiners, out of which a system of state medicine is likely to grow. We have another instance in the numerous experiments to regulate and suppress the liquor traffic. The modern legislature is simply overwhelmed with propositions to do good by force of law. I am neither approving nor condemning them now, but simply emphasizing the prodigious burdens of the modern citizen. In any catalogue of live questions that of protection will have a leading place, and it is worthy of attention simply as an instance of an institution defended at successive periods on different grounds. The system of high duties on foreign

goods imported was urged in the early years of our present government for the purpose of filling up the empty treasury vaults of the United States which had succeeded to the debts of the old Confederation, but to no corresponding revenues. A few years later we find the partisans of protection demanding its perpetuation for the nourishment of the infant industries of the country. That plea served its purpose and gave way to that in vogue of late years, protection of American labor against the competition of the pauper operatives of Europe. Meantime a result has suddenly appeared of which no party dreamed. Under the active and beneficent operation of our protection system, old industries supported, new ones nourished into full life, labor generally well rewarded, the national government finds itself in possession of a hundred and fifty millions of surplus revenue, and this after paying the interest on a debt of $2,000,000,000. An American Congress is sorely puzzled how to dispose of this unlucky accumulation. Is it true that a protective system necessarily implies the power to spend unlimited money? Must American labor go down in the unequal competition with European pauperism, because the tax upon foreign cheap manufactures yields a revenue needlessly and unmanageably excessive? But I am bringing forward the protection question chiefly as an illustration of the manner in which great poli-

tical questions change their aspects and relations. Arguments which justify an institution in one age have to give place to new reasons in the next.

> At this time the country is not in danger from any excess of revenue and the advocates of high protection do not intend that it shall be. Unlimited money can be spent in pensions, battleships, irrigation, drainage and river-deepening projects, and ambassadorial hotels. When the time comes that the tariff shall be so much reduced as to render it necessary to resort to other forms of national taxation, the choice will call for the greatest wisdom in finance.

And curiously enough there is a new phase of the protection question just looming on the verge of our political horizon. It has been a favorite method with a respectable school of political economists to discuss labor and wages as mere commodities. It is a short and simple way. So much money in bank; so many days' work on the market. Given dividend and divisor arithmetic fixes wages. Who can fight the multiplication table? If you workmen do not like your wages, some of you can clear out. What business have so many of you on the planet anyhow? Within a year or so the labor union men have caught a lesson from the wage fund theorists. Labor is a commodity. Good. Wages depend on relative demand and supply. Very good. Then what business, say the New York

and Buffalo stevedores to dock owners, have you to import free of duty whole colonies of Poles and Italians to underbid us in the labor market? The factories of New England and the iron works of Pennsylvania are protected against foreign competition by heavy duties on imported goods, but the operatives in both states see wages kept down by the importation of solid blocks of Irish and Hungarian labor. Already they demand "protection" for the domestic article of labor. And if labor is merchandise and protection is the right of any, can it be denied to our ultimate producers?

In the years that have passed notable restrictions have been placed on foreign immigration. Under treaty arrangements Chinese and Japanese laborers are excluded; paupers, criminals and anarchists have been forbidden to land on our shores; and corporations may no longer import gangs of hands under contract. Still the tide of immigration has steadily swollen, and the proportion coming from Latin and Mohammedan countries rises. Since the panic of October, 1907, however, a return tide of great volume has set in, carrying many hundreds of thousands of men and women back to their native countries. This phenomenon seems to indicate that labor in these times is mobile, flowing easily to the places offering the most favorable conditions of employment, and also, that our country is not for the moment offering those conditions.

Such are some of the social problems now before us, demanding early and rational solu-

tion. I fear most of them will be left to solve themselves while we amuse ourselves with our arms and our merchandise. And there is one problem greater than all these which always confronts us: How to preserve liberty? We are extending the powers of government in the interest of physical comfort and economy. Are we equally providing for spiritual freedom, the most precious thing conceivable? May not State churches and State schools, and State medicine, and State transportation, and State insurance, and State ownership of land, transform us into a set of patient, unimaginative, human drones, of well-living? When there is universal ease and comfort will anybody care for freedom? "Before all things, liberty," was the motto of Selden—before all things, liberty—and I commend this motto to the consideration of all conscious and unconscious socialists.

The question of the balance of socialism and individualism may be left as it will be left, to be kept by that state of mind which exists and dominates in any generation. Before the might of that state of mind ("the spirit of the age," we call it), laws, institutions and customs give way.

I have said we are a great nation. As one of the great powers of the earth we have come into great and responsible international relations, which are rapidly multiplying. They form the

subjects of a special code of laws. We have ministers resident at all great capitals, and our commercial interests are watched by consuls stationed in every considerable mart. Questions of extradition, naturalization, arbitration, are constantly arising. The doctrines of privateering, blockade, neutrality, have still to be definitely settled. Wisely, our nation keeps out of European quarrels; but avoid the duties of comity and of protection to our citizens we cannot. Mistakes in home politics may simply cause the loss of wealth; blunders in international politics may bring war.

America has been forced to take her place among the great powers of the world, and she may claim that her amateur diplomacy has deserved the respect of the nations. International law has accordingly advanced in the estimation of her statesmen and now has its place in the curriculum of every respectable university.

Such are some of the problems and duties of the time in the domain of politics. To dispose of them we find ourselves in possession of the most complicated political machinery the world has known. I doubt if our political system is thoroughly understoood by any of our statesmen, except the few who have read foreign books upon it. We are indebted to a Frenchman for the most convenient and philosophical text-book upon our political institutions.

De Tocqueville's book may still claim the first place in importance, but those of Bryce and Ostrogorsky cannot be neglected by students of our institutions.

To most citizens the United States Government is a foreign power, so rarely does it touch them with a bare hand. What cities may do and what counties, what jurisdiction the various courts of justice have, and such like questions, but few citizens ever know except in a few particulars. If ever a people needed a civic education, is it not ourselves? Virtue is indispensable, it is true, to good government; but virtue is not enough. We must add knowledge. Rational conduct is the fruit of principles well understood, and facts exactly comprehended.

I have expressed the opinion that it is not now practicable to introduce political and economic instruction on any large scale into lower schools. The university, I suggest, is the appropriate place for collecting, assorting, and diffusing the knowledge essential to a better civic education. That is the very function of the university. It is probably true that great ideas, great inventions, great systems, or works do not arise within academic walls. It is just as true that the university is the conservator of them all. Genius is chary of collegiate trammels, preferring the freedom of the garret, the workshop, and the studio. It is the useful and honorable function of the uni-

versity to gather up the work of a Copernicus, a Bacon, a La Place, a Watt, a Morse, or an Edison, co-ordinate and explain it and hand it down in the form of science to succeeding ages. I believe the time has come for the university to undertake the task of collecting and arranging the facts and principles from which we may develop a fuller and wiser political science than we yet possess. We have seen how great is the need. The time seems to favor the attempt. The great historians of our age have unfolded the life, social and public, of all great nations of the past, so that we have innumerable examples of conduct, policy and legislation.

The sciences of political economy and national economy are still in an unsettled condition, but the study and discussion of them has produced a certain state of mind of far greater moment than any of their particular conclusions can ever be. These subjects cannot be considered except on the presupposition that history—that has been, and is yet to be—is one mighty chain, in which cause and effect are indissolubly linked. As men and nations sow, so shall they also reap. It is the habit of our age to look for the causes of economical and political results among the antecedent phenomena, and not to eclipses, the movements of the powers of the air, or the prayers, however fervent, of opposing hosts on the eve of battle. Upon the basis of this truly scientific habit

of mind have been laid the foundations of a new science whose walls are just rising into view, but whose rounded dome will remain to be reared by future hands. To have drawn the ground plan and sketched a superstructure will have been glory enough for our age. I speak of the science of sociology, and I think it but justice to say that whatever may be the verdict of the future as to his contributions to philosophy, Auguste Comte's fame as the founder of this science is secure.

And upon the same foundation with sociology must be built the included and partial science of politics, which till lately has been but a name since Aristotle's day: but the writings of Woolsey and Bluntschli have made political science again more than a name. The time, then, seems to be ripe for the university to assume and organize instruction in social and political science. Some such great function the university must assume or sink into a position of unimportance. She will cease to be honored whenever she ceases to be concerned about the highest things. Neither the pursuit of abstract science, nor the applications of science in the useful arts will keep the university in repute, nor will philosophy, nor mathematics, nor philology keep her venerable among men. The highest things—the problems of humanity, the conduct of states, the government of cities, the economies of communities and nations, the establishment of peace, and above all the educa-

tion of peoples—these things must be made chief studies, or men will look outside of universities for their guiding lights.

With the pulpit and the press teeming with discourses upon burning social problems, the university cannot content herself with teaching merely sines and tangents, the rules of prosody and the magic lantern. No, the university must adopt as her motto those noble words of an old Roman poet, "All that concerns humanity belongs to me." I fear that the American colleges have not kept up with the times, and have given too much reason for young men to conclude that the best education for public life is to be got in the reporters' room of the great newspaper.

It is my desire to establish the duty of the university to become the seat and teacher of social and political science at the point of convergence of these four lines of argument:

1. The opening of a legitimate public career to young Americans, as a result of the civil service reform;

2. The press of a great variety of most complicated and difficult problems already demanding practical solution;

3. The late development of the science of sociology, and of the scientific method in that and the included sciences;

4. The need of the university to be engaged

the study of the highest things, under penalty of losing prestige and influence.

If you will charitably allow me to assume this ground as well taken, I will go on to consider briefly some practical questions of detail. It is much easier to propose the introduction of new studies into a college course than place them in. It was part of Solon's constitution that the proposer of a new law should come forward with a halter round his neck, with which to be righteously hanged if his bill should be rejected. It is much the same with him who suggests the addition of new studies to a curriculum already overcrowded. If a new study comes in an old one must make way for it. Accordingly it has been proposed that no attempt be made to introduce sociological and political studies into an undergraduate course, but to arrange courses to be pursued by graduates—post-graduate courses so called. There is no speculative objection to this plan, but there is a serious practical objection—that we cannot expect that any considerable number of students will be willing, and if willing, able, to extend their studies beyond the ordinary period of graduation. To put the studies in question out of the undergraduate field is to put them out of the university. These studies are of the greatest value, they are attractive to fascination, and they are well adapted to furnish that discipline which is a chief, if not the chief end of the

undergraduate work. The earlier years of college life being devoted to the completion of the secondary education begun in school, we must if possible find in the later years a place for our courses in social and political science. To this solution the three or four American universities which have organized this work have come and to the same our own university must come, whenever it shall be in order to propose any liberal and comprehensive plan of instruction in this field, and there will be here a COLLEGE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, co-ordinate with the colleges already formed and to be formed. Given our college of political and social science what shall be its work?

No College of Social and Political Sciences yet exists in the University of Minnesota. The hope and ambition of the speaker when giving this address has been bitterly disappointed. There were perhaps, other interests, which for a time demanded the expenditure of the moderate appropriations obtainable; but that time long since passed. To the representations of the speaker and his colleagues the regents have turned a deaf ear. The only assignable reason for their indifference is that they have not known what the crowning duty of a state university is, that of providing the "Civic Education" for the men who are to rule and control in public affairs.

To his honored successor at the head of the department of political science the writer bequeaths the task of converting an ignorant and prejudiced opposition to the full and proper development of that one branch of studies which is eminently the

function of a state university supported by public funds.

At the bottom of all must rest a solid basis of historical knowledge, and if that shall have not been laid down in an earlier stage of the student's progress it must be put there at the beginning of that we are speaking of. And it is of first importance that this knowledge be clear. It is possible to know history as geography, by great features. He who knows the outlines of continents, the trend of great mountain chains, the courses of great rivers, the boundaries of great states, and the situations of great cities, knows geography in a certain just sense. In a like way history may be known by epochs and great landmarks. The imagination will fill in details. The history next of our own Anglo-Saxon race should have been made the subject of more extended and most careful study. We are English in blood, language, law, and institutions. Spite of some unmotherly conduct, we look to England still as our motherland, and join in her laureate's celebration of her as:

"A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent."

Assuming the possession of a body of clear, historical knowledge, I think the next thing would be to co-order and explain it by a course

of instruction in the philosophy of history, for which a model has been furnished by Guizot not likely to be surpassed. These foundation timbers should next be crossed with a study of the elements of political economy, and the history of that science, and this I would in turn bind down with a course in the elements of law. Thus upon the foundation of history we should have reared a solid platform in alternate layers of the philosophy of history, political economy and the elements of law. These studies, at least, should be compulsory upon all degree students. The materials for our superstructure embarrass by their number and magnitude. They are such branches as these: history of political ideas and institutions; history of federal government; history and science of administration; English constitutional history; American constitutional history; political ethics; political economy in many ramifications; national economy, particularly American national economy, embracing a multitude of topics, such as taxation, finance, immigration, protection, banks, currency, land laws, pauperism, public health, public education, sumptuary laws, and so on; American government—federal, state, county, town; city government, its history, its practice, ancient and modern; international law and the history of diplomacy.

It was thought important at the time to specifically mention the leading subjects of study which a College of Social and Political Sciences should embrace. They have their places in the detailed scheme of instruction in those universities where they are appreciated.

This partial enumeration shows of itself that no single course could possibly include them all, were it extended over a life time. Without doubt it will be necessary to separate them into suitable natural groups and thus offer them to the choice of students.

We have viewed a magnificent field of study. These are noble and fascinating subjects for the young men of a great and free nation. Whoever should obtain a good degree in such a faculty might proudly congratulate himself: and, yet, he might on stepping out into life find the wayfaring man, though a fool, to have greatly the advantage over him. Whoever, equipped merely with a mass of political knowledge, goes forth into the world expecting to find facts and events conforming to his fine, ready-made categories, will certainly find himself ridiculous and impossible. The political boss "will walk all around him" and leave him literally circumvented in his fine schemes of reform. Above all knowledges there is a knowledge without which they are worth nothing—I mean that insight into the nature of things, and the way to

deal with them, which, in its ordinary manifestations, we call "common sense." If our bachelor of political science shall not have learned the true nature of his subject and the true method of dealing with it, his knowledge, however great, arithmetically considered, must be marked with a minus sign. The more knowledge a fool has, the bigger fool he is. In politics, there are no principles, but maxims; no laws, but generalizations. Only the things which have been written, are written. The Frenchman's mot, that "nothing is sure to happen but the unforeseen," might serve as a perennial warning to the statesman. The election of a certain clique of candidates ought, we cry, to bring contempt and damage, but it does not; the passage of a certain bill ought to entail ruin, but it does not. The ways of Providence are truly not as our ways; they disappoint our feeble logic. In such matters but one method is tolerable—that called the historic method which is after all merely the inductive method applied over great spaces and epochs.

To establish and assure the student of political and economic science in the historic method, he should be required to perform some amount of original work. It does not matter much what the line of work should be, whether the personal history of some family of paupers, a great strike of artisans, the evolution of banking, the rise and progress of a granger movement, or the long de-

velopment of a constitution, if by its patient and earnest pursuit the student shall learn the use of his tools; learn to investigate and record. At least one honest and successful piece of research and analysis should be a condition precedent to graduation.

I have dwelt on these details too long, perhaps, but because a general idea will not have acceptation unless shown to be workable in at least one way. I care but little about this or any particular way, and will heartily welcome a better. My chief contention is that the civic education be recognized; things are known by their names. There is no time to be lost. The old and simple ways have passed. We have left the agricultural stage of civilization for the industrial stage. The farm is not so much the homestead as a mere instrument for raising salable produce. Business is the enthusiasm of our age. We are sixty millions, shall soon be a hundred, all virtual dwellers in cities, or on wheels. A new life, a new civilization is before and upon us. Wisely we cling to old constitutions and economic customs, but already we see that the common law brought by our English forefathers from the forests of Germany, the constitutions based on British and colonial charters, and an economic system borrowed from the free cities of mediaeval Europe are giving way under the pressure and impetus of the tremendous forces now in action.

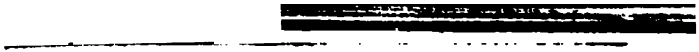
I beg my young friends now leaving us not vainly to fancy that the good Ship of State is sure to float in quiet waters in their time—that public affairs will glide on in safe grooves ready formed for them, so that they have only for their parts to buy and sell and get gain and enjoy the repose of the vine and the fig tree.

It is but a few years ago that I was one of such a company as yours, going out from Alma Mater to slip, as we thought, into peaceful and unregarded careers of mercantile and professional life. We had no more expectation of the near outbreak of a great revolution than you have of an earthquake on graduation day. Three short years passed and the great rebellion was upon us. Oh, it was glorious to see the young men of that time fly to the rescue of the assaulted nation. With what magnificent devotion they sprang to the saddle and fell into the ranks, "marching to their graves like beds," at the country's call. I pity the men of my years who had no share in that contest.

The war drums long since ceased their beating, and the tattered battle flags are fretting into dust, but the spirit of patriotism which fired the hearts of the young men of '61 abides in the hearts of the young America of to-day. There are, we trust, no fields of fire and blood awaiting you, but there are high duties, tremendous civil issues and conflicts. There will be room and need

for self-devotion and all the glorious proofs and acts of patriotism. There are even harder things for men to do than to die in the front of battle.

Finally, I bid you be of good hope, and never to despair of the Republic, however dark and low the clouds may hang. There must be a vast and splendid career for the free men of our race who have been planted in this latter day upon this wide and fertile continent. There must be a rich and glorious national career before us. Still, immense as are the duties and interests committed to nations and to governments, immense as are the powers and influence of governments over men, let us not forget that "men have a higher destiny than states."



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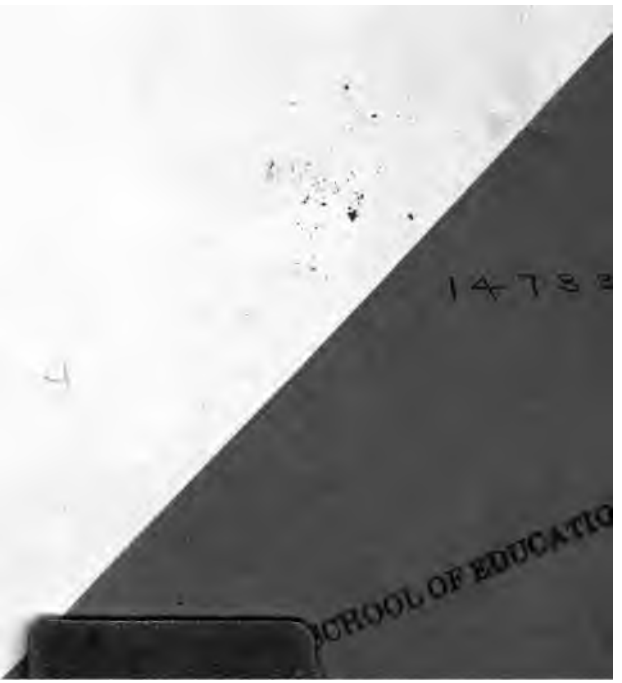
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